

RHETORIC

---

& 'REALITY'

POLITICS, POLICY AND THE  
DISCOURSES OF HERITAGE IN  
ENGLAND

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A thesis submitted in fulfilment of the requirements for the  
degree of Doctor of Philosophy

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*(Incorporating the Institute of Advanced Architectural Studies)*

June 2007

For Grandad



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# ABSTRACT

E.L. Waterton, *Rhetoric and Reality: Politics, Policy and the Discourses of 'Heritage' in England*. Submission of thesis for PhD. Bibliographic details: 493 pages; 9 illustrations, 9 in colour; 26 tables; 29 figures, 27 in colour; 69pp. bibliography.

Over the past few decades, heritage has taken up a prominent position on public, academic and policy agendas. However, precisely what heritage *is*, and what cultural and social 'work' it *does*, has yet to be adequately apprehended in a policy sense. Instead, the immense range of concerns, values and meanings conceived by an array of interest groups has been distilled and generalised into a seemingly coherent collection of policies. How does this work?

This research examines the discursive constructions of heritage and charts the development and dissemination of an *authorised heritage discourse* (AHD). As a point of conflict, the thesis takes up a particular interest in the intersection of this discourse with recent calls of social inclusion. Primarily, the aim is to reveal the work (both linguistically and socially) the AHD does in diminishing alternative heritage perspectives. In order to do so, this thesis places acute focus on policymaking and draws on a range of debates emerging from the social sciences. Principally, it employs the theoretical and methodological underpinnings of *Critical Discourse Analysis*, but this is supplemented with *Q Methodology*, in-depth interviewing and participant observations. This multi-method approach requires a dual focus that examines both the social contexts and linguistic features surrounding the practice of heritage management. As such, considerable interest is placed upon the syntactical, grammatical and lexical constructions of heritage internal to a collection of policy documents, including the AMAA (1979), the NHA (1983), PPG15, *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future*, and the *Heritage Protection Review*. The constructions of 'heritage' embedded within these documents is simultaneously analysed against the external context of the heritage sector in England.

The research concludes that the dominant notion of 'heritage', revolving around an uncritical collection of assumptions regarding the immutable, physical nature of heritage, revered for its rarity, aesthetics, age and monumentality and conserved for the educational and informational benefit of future generations, continues to hold considerable influence. This dominance has continued despite recent calls for social inclusion and an increased interest in 'public value'. As such, it is argued that new emphases of inclusivity and plurality operate at the level of rhetoric only, and rarely translate in reality. Instead, the AHD continues to create, sustain and promote a particular way of seeing heritage. Moreover, this dominant vision *does not appear to dominate, it appears as natural*.

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# ACKNOWLEDGEMENTS

This thesis has benefited from the innumerable contributions I have received from so many colleagues and friends, whose support and encouragement during this long (and often difficult) process has been invaluable. This collection of friends and colleagues provided a wonderful combination of intellectual, practical and emotional support and assistance. For this I am extremely grateful.

To begin, I would like to acknowledge the financial support of the Arts and Humanities Research Board (now Council), without which this thesis would not have been possible. Both the AHRC and the Department of Archaeology provided additional funding and support for the collection of a large amount of the data used within this programme of study. Anne Tucker and Patrick Leoni-Sceti offered me their hospitality while I was away from home during my many periods of data collection.

Second, I would like to acknowledge and thank the individuals and organisations that accommodated my requests for their time and input. From English Heritage, I would like to thank Paul Barnwell, Ben Cowell, Tim Brennan, Keith Emerick, Jane Grenville, Deborah Lamb, Miriam Levin, Adrian Olivier, Neil Redfern, John Fidler, James Stevens and Christopher Young. I thank them not only for their time, but for their patience, extensive knowledge and enthusiasm as well. Of these, a special thank-you is due to Keith Emerick and Neil Redfern, for their friendship, humour and encouragement over the years. Both debated, advised and lent professional credence to various strands of my research. Importantly, they introduced me to the people of Cawood and Castleford.

From DCMS, I would like to thank James Burke, Claudia Kenyetta, Gary Mundy and Harry Reeves and from the Select Committee for Culture, Media and Sport, I thank Ian Cameron and Fergus Reid. I also acknowledge the time and input offered by Nick Boldrini (NYCC), Neil Campling (NYCC), Gill Chitty (CBA), Kate Clarke (HLF), Sean Creighton, Eliza Gore (YAT), Emily Kearney (IPPR), Ruth McDonald (Bayle Museum), Tim Mason (Arts and Heritage Consultancy), Kate Pugh (Heritage Link), Tim Schadla-Hall (UCL), Dawn Shelford (LHI), Linda Smith (NYCC), Daniel Snowman (Institute of Historical Research) and Michael Turnpenny (MLA). I would also like to thank Councillors Heather Garnett, John Ford, Karen Jewitt, Tim Rippon, Hugh Bayley MP and John Grogan MP.

A number of people from UNESCO, Paris, graciously offered me both their time and considerable understanding of the international heritage sphere: Francesco Bandarin, Giovanni Boccardi, Fernando Brugman, Guido Carducci, Cesar Moreno-Triana, Edouard Planche, Rochelle Roca-Hachem, Mechtild Rössler, Rieks Smeets and David Stehl. In addition, several people at the Smithsonian Centre for Folklore and Cultural Heritage lent both their time and knowledge to the research: Diana Baird N'Diaye, James Counts Early, Richard Kurin, Frank Proschan and Dan Sheehy.

Many people from Cawood, in particular the Cawood Castle Garth Group, showed me enormous generosity in terms of their time, patience and knowledge, and I am indebted to them. In particular, I would like to warmly thank Carole Birtwhistle, Margaret Brearley, Ian Dersley, Jane Dersley and Margaret Squires, all of whom extended extraordinary levels



of kindness, stimulating conversation and laughter. Likewise, Alison Drake, along with many others from the Castleford Heritage Trust showed a much needed interest, belief and enthusiasm for the work I have undertaken.

I would also like to thank all those people who participated in the Q study for kindly giving up their time to participate in what at times could be described as a frustrating and challenging process. I am unable to list all those who participated here, but I am grateful for their patience and honesty in sorting through the statements. Any errors made in the interpretation of both the sorts and interview material are entirely my own.

Third, many chapters and sections were read and commented upon by a number of people. I would like to thank the following for their detailed and constructive comments, and helpful advice: Steve Ashby, Mick Atha, Gary Campbell, Keith Emerick, Daniel Hull, Lila Rakoczy, May Redfern, Neil Redfern, Suzi Richer, Laurajane Smith, Kevin Walsh and Robin Wooffitt. Collectively, they helped me to clarify and develop the arguments I here seek to define and defend. I also thank Geoffrey Palmer, whose assistance was immensely helpful to me in the final few weeks of this thesis, both in proofreading the text and offering a number of much appreciated stylistic suggestions. I am grateful also to Peter Gouldsborough, Barbara Little, Aleks McClain, Harold Mytum, John Parkinson, Paul Shackel, Kevin Walsh and Robin Wooffitt, all of whom provided me with intellectual assistance, not only in terms of strengthening my ideas, but also helping to organise my research and data collection. I would also like to thank Horacio Ayestaran for his technical assistance and Nick Trustram Eve for his 'artistic' contributions. I also received invaluable clarification, help and enthusiasm from a number of Q practitioners far more skilled in the finer points of Q than I: Rachel Baker, Will Focht, Margarita Jeliaskova and Peter Schmolck. I am particularly grateful to Stephen Brown, who patiently responded to all of my rather tedious inquiries and questions about the theory, methodology and process of Q, even when I was teetering on the edges of hysteria.

Fourth, a number of people provided me with the immeasurable personal support I needed to complete this thesis. Individually and collectively, they have repeatedly sustained me over the past three and a half year: Steph Adams, Steve Ashby, Horacio Ayestaran, Mick Atha, Tom Brindle, Gary Campbell, Fiona Eayrs, Michael Fradley, Charlotte Hawes, Sally Huxtable, Leslie Johansen-Salters, Anna Marshall, Lauren Marshall, Alex Mason, Aleks McClain, Lila Rakoczy, Suzi Richer, Kathryn Roberts, Helen Shield, Laurajane Smith, Nick Trustram Eve and Jenny Wrightson. And, of course, Stink. From this list I would like to thank Mick Atha, Anna Marshall and Lila Rakoczy in particular, not only for their support, but also for their lively discussions, distractions and laughter throughout the duration of this thesis. Both I and this thesis have benefited profoundly from their contributions. I thank also Alex Mason from her unyielding support, especially her belief and conviction when I lacked my own.

Finally, although one name appears on the spine of this thesis, its completion owes a profound debt to two others: my supervisor, Dr Laurajane Smith, and Gary Campbell, who was in many ways a joint supervisor for this thesis. Both offered me unlimited advice, support, encouragement and friendship. They offered me long conversations on how best to structure, argue and develop my ideas, 'oscillating' between gentle cajoling and sharper probing, depending upon both my mood and progress at the time. Maintaining their support cannot have been easy and I am grateful to them in ways I can not adequately express – for their perseverance and willingness to see the long-term. Their input has been transformative, both academically and personally.

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## AUTHOR'S DECLARATION

This thesis is based upon original work and research, and as such, responsibility for any errors is entirely my own. While some aspects of this work have been expanded upon and published by the author elsewhere (Waterton 2005, 2007; Waterton *et al* 2006), the majority of the data analysis, discussions and conclusions are presented here for the first time.

Waterton, E. (2005) 'Whose sense of place? Reconciling archaeological perspectives with community values: Cultural landscapes in England', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 11 (4), 309-326.

Waterton, E. (2007) 'An Institutionalised Construction of the Past in the UK' in D. Hull, S. Grabow and E. Waterton (eds), *Which Past, Whose Future? Treatments of the Past at the Start of the 21st Century*. Oxford: British Archaeological Reports. International Series.

Waterton, E., Smith, L. and Campbell, G. (2006) 'The utility of discourse analysis to heritage studies: The Burra Charter and social inclusion', *International Journal of Heritage Studies*, 12 (4), 339-355.



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# ABBREVIATIONS

AHD	-	Authorised Heritage Discourse
AMAA	-	Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979
AMCA	-	Ancient Monuments Consolidation Act of 1913
AMPA	-	Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882
CBA	-	Council for British Archaeology
CDA	-	Critical Discourse Analysis
CPRE	-	Campaign to Protect Rural England
CR	-	Critical Realism
DCLG	-	Department for Communities and Local Government
DCMS	-	Department for Culture, Media and Sport
DEFRA	-	Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs
DfES	-	Department for Education and Skills
DfT	-	Department for Transport
DNH	-	Department of National Heritage (1992-1997)
DoE	-	Department of Environment
DWP	-	Department for Work and Pensions
EFTEC	-	Economics for the Environment Consultancy
EH	-	English Heritage
ESRC	-	Economic and Social Research Council
HEREC	-	Historic Environment Review Executive Committee
HL	-	Heritage Link
HLF	-	Heritage Lottery Fund
HPR	-	Heritage Protection Review
ICOMOS	-	International Council on Monuments and Sites
IPPR	-	Institute for Public Policy Research
MORI	-	Market and Opinion Research International
NAP	-	National Action Plans
NDPB	-	Non-Departmental Public Body
NHA	-	National Heritage Act
NT	-	National Trust
ODPM	-	Office of the Deputy Prime Minister
PAT 10	-	Policy Action Team 10: Sport and Arts
PPG15	-	Planning Policy Guidance Note 15: Planning and the Historic Environment
PPG16	-	Planning Policy Guidance Note 16: Planning and Archaeology
PPS	-	Planning Policy Statements
PSA	-	Public Service Agreements
Q	-	Q Methodology
SPAB	-	Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
TWO	-	The Welsh Office
UKHERG	-	The United Kingdom Historic Environment Research Group
UNESCO	-	United Nations Educational, Scientific and Cultural Organisation
WG1	-	Working Group 1
YAT	-	York Archaeological Trust

# INTRODUCTION

## Discourse-policy-heritage

### INTRODUCTION: HERITAGE BE DAMNED

'Heritage' in England, as Raphael Samuel (1994: 259) points out, has a history of damningly bad press. It has been characterised as a cult, a 'worthless sham' (cited in Lowenthal 1998a: xv), 'bogus history' (Hewison 1987), and the "...*cuckoo in the historian's nest*" (Davison 1991: 12; Lindgren 1997; Taksa 2003: 13). Moreover, it is seen as exclusive, superior and pandering to the "...*misreadings of the past*" (Lowenthal 1998b: 7). For many, it has become a dirty word (Lammy 2006b: 67), or the dreaded 'H' word (Chippendale 1993: 6). Simultaneously, however, it is also seen to be "...*truly popular*" (Cossons 2006b: 2), "...*a calling*" (Thurley 2006), something that is 'vital', 'special' and 'inspiring' (Cossons, cited in Girling 2005: 2; Jowell 2006: 8), "...*touch[ing] our lives in many ways*" (Culture, Media and Sport Committee 2006: 3). Consequently, it receives positive invocations in the policy arena, and is often called upon to reduce disaffection and social exclusion, engender identity formation and foster cultural democracy (cf. *Being Heard* website, Bragg 2006; Hunt 2006; Jowell 2006; Kennedy 2006). It is therefore both a dirty word and an incantation called upon to produce solutions for a range of social problems.

'Heritage' has therefore become fragmentary, complex and contradictory. People use it to perform a number of different roles, on a number of different stages, for a number of different audiences. It is both good and bad; it represents dissonance and consensus; it means everything and nothing; and it is both a problem and solution. What is remarkable is that despite the complexity and contradiction that surrounds 'heritage', it has largely remained a policy phenomenon with a patina of consensus, and has hitherto been taken for granted. Indeed, it is an issue whose significance somehow goes without saying. *Why is this?*



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Nowhere has the disjuncture between ‘good’ and ‘bad’ heritage been more pronounced than in the current policy climate of social inclusion, instigated by the election to government of New Labour in 1997. In this context, the heritage sector is expected to overhaul their collective objectives; a point that is particularly pertinent for English Heritage (EH) and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS). As such, the arrival of ‘social inclusion’ has brought about something of a crisis, such that there is now “...*widespread alarm throughout the sector*” (Mr Edward Vaizey, House of Commons, Hansard, Heritage 25<sup>th</sup> January 2007, Column 573 WH). Essentially, my aim in this thesis is to trace the linguistic, discursive and social responses this agenda of ‘inclusion’ has prompted, and challenge the policy solutions that have subsequently taken shape. My contention, at its simplest, is that in the clamour and rush to stack together a new and inclusive role for ‘heritage’, a more subtle sleight-of-hand was at work, which masked the *real* problem of ‘heritage’ – that it is inherently exclusive. As such, the argument I want to make revolves around the particular understanding of ‘heritage’ that is held at the core of public policy. This idea of ‘heritage’ pulls together a very tightly crafted sense of what it *is* and what it *does*, and privileges the cultural symbols of the ruling elite. Rather than question the relevance such a construction of ‘heritage’ might have beyond the white middle- and upper-classes, the public policy path taken skates considerably closer to a programme of re-education and cultural assimilation.

Over a period of seven years, two programmes of review and reform were instigated, *The Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment (1999–2001)* and *The Heritage Protection Review (2003–present)*. Together, these have sought to combat exclusion through a marketing process aimed at cajoling ‘minority’ groups over the threshold of traditional heritage properties. Imbricated within the textual constructions of a range of documents are the power relations drawn upon to maintain distinct subject positionings, including them/us, public/expert, minority/majority and consensus/disharmony. Core understandings of ‘heritage’ – what it means, why it is used and how it is experienced – remain intact, and continue to revolve around the visiting of a range of archaeological and historical sites, including country houses, ruined abbeys, palaces, ancient monuments and castles. In short, ‘social inclusion’ has simply translated into a more overt promotion of the dominant version of history, in an attempt to subvert and subdue the threatening crises of exclusion.

This is because to accept that the state-sanctioned notion of ‘heritage’ is anything other than inclusive poses significant challenges, not only for the identity of ‘heritage’ itself, but for the institutional identities of lead organisations English Heritage (EH) and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), and the broader identity of ‘Englishness’ bound up with the management of heritage. As a consequence, the uptake of ‘inclusion’ happened solely at the level of rhetoric, with little in the way of substance, and has played out through the specific, political reinvention of an ‘all encompassing’, ‘inclusive’ and ‘embracing’ *historic environment*. Quite simply, the language of ‘heritage’ was folded up and packed away, replaced by the alternative of ‘the historic environment’, which the public is persuaded to think is more inclusive. What is perhaps the most significant aspect of this transition is that it is scarcely acknowledged – indeed, it has simply been a *fait accompli*. The task of this thesis is to map out and reveal the repeated mantras, nodal points and discursive framings that have been called upon – consciously or not – to manage this transition and facilitate its accomplishment. At best, it may be described as the uncritical and ill-thought-out response of a sector in crisis; at worst, it is a more devious act used to subtly sustain the status quo.

### *Discourse-Policy-Heritage: The Grounding of the Thesis*

As a starting point, this thesis begins with the ubiquity of heritage matters at local, regional, national and international levels, linked as they are to a range of governmental institutions, voluntary and independent organisations, non-governmental and intergovernmental bodies, consultancy firms and community heritage groups. This pervasiveness has increased within the context of calls for social inclusion, which are themselves related to growing debates sparked around the future of multiculturalism and a ‘Multi-Ethnic Britain’ (Parekh 2000a), an increase in heritage tourism in response to a social compression of time and space (Sheller and Urry 2004: 3), and a renewed popularisation of ‘the past’ through various media. Within this context, ‘heritage’ has become an important material, symbolic, semiotic and discursive resource. However, I draw attention to this ubiquity not so as to propose a different way of thinking about ‘heritage’, nor as a grounding for the development of fully thought-out policy recommendations. Rather, for this thesis, the ubiquity of ‘heritage’ provides a crucial problematic, not so much because of its complexity, but because of its *absence* in a policy sense. This may seem a somewhat strange and contradictory



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statement to make, but it is one that I intend to qualify throughout the thesis. My point, here, is simply that the many ways by which we understand, encounter and experience ‘heritage’ as we see and feel it around us, disappear or are marginalised when addressed by policy.

There are four points regarding the focus of this thesis that I want to emphasise from the outset. The first is that this thesis takes up an explicit **policy-orientated focus**. Through a process of institutionalisation, ‘heritage’, both as a problem and solution, has become homogenised *within* the policy process. As such, it is now understood as a naturalised storyline that has become “...*the way one talks*” about ‘heritage’ (Hajer 1995: 57; 1996: 44–48). This dominant expression of ‘heritage’, which Smith (2006) identifies as the *Authorised Heritage Discourse* (hereafter AHD) and which I take up here, is associated with a range of heritage institutions and a closely defined suite of expertise. While this reduction of complex social issues to simplified policy solutions is not unusual, it does offer a unique entry point to examine the management of ‘heritage’. More specifically, it allows an opportunity to explore the discursive practices that work to solidify and enact *particular* modes of practice that guide the recognition, management and interpretation of ‘heritage’. The second point I want to make clear is that this thesis also takes up an explicit **discourse-orientated focus**. ‘Heritage’, I suggest, is not a fixed, unchanging *thing*, but is something that is constructed, created, constituted and reflected by discourses. These may be historically situated or relatively new but, either way, they are mutable and changing across time and place. This contingency of ‘heritage’ upon discourse means that policy is not simply a neutral domain within which ‘heritage’ problems and solutions are mapped. Rather, policy becomes a *site* for analysis or a means by which to explore, *through* discourse, the social realities of heritage management, particularly in terms of the power relations that monitor and sustain social hierarchies and social change.

Thirdly – and although perhaps less important than the above two points – it is worth noting that this thesis takes up an explicit **England-orientated focus**, as space and time preclude a more varied and far-reaching scope. While it is arguable that the AHD inevitably changes and undergoes subtle variation across space, time and context, the development of an England-orientated discussion does hold wider relevance. This is because the heritage management practices in



England operate within a wider network of practices that dynamically shift across geographical and international boundaries, and in turn, are conditioned by the influential English context. Using England as a specific location for analysis also serves to give insight into a point of contestation and/or appropriation, where one discourse gives way to another, as the vigorous debates regarding social inclusion suggest. As such, it provides a concrete and definable example through which to closely analyse the struggles over the articulation of 'heritage'.

The fourth and final point that I want to draw attention to is the disjuncture that lies between the multiple social and cultural meanings of 'heritage' and the failure to recognise that multi-vocality in a policy sense. This is a disjuncture that has never been properly, nor critically, understood or illustrated. Indeed, much of the academic literature dealing with 'heritage' focuses primarily on its management, interpretation and consumption, leaving the very nature of 'heritage', or the range of meanings that *make* something heritage, under-explored (cf. Cleere 1989a; Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Willems 1998; Skeates 2000; Campbell 2001; Blockley and Hems 2005; Mynors 2006). Instead, the predominant focus of such work rests on the proposition that 'heritage' is something defined by its physicality and monumentality, and is thus something that stands above and beyond the 'banal' and 'everyday'. It houses within it a host of values that revolve around artistic, archaeological, architectural, historical and national content, and subsequently is considered understandable only by a particular suite of expertise, or those in possession of the cultural capital associated with a particular social class. While recent work emerging from the diverse field of Heritage Studies has started to confront this dominant view, very little work has been done that explicitly takes up a policy focus. As such, while the value of such work is significant, it falls short of examining the longer-term material consequences. What is particularly relevant about this emerging literature, however, is the idea that 'heritage', as an invitation to *feel* something or engage in emotional evocation (Bagnall 2003: 89), is for many people much more than a monological presentation of physicality. Indeed, it is a more nuanced and subtle negotiation or experience.

Taken together, these four points form the parameters of the argument developed in this thesis. This argument advances the notion that the concept of 'heritage' inevitably found in policy-making, and much of conventional academia

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and popular culture, is not necessarily a reflection of a consensual view of 'heritage'; rather, it is simply the 'way of seeing' that has found dominance. This idea of 'heritage' began to emerge in the late nineteenth century, and was formalised in English public policy in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. This identification of a distinct conceptualisation of 'heritage' has since been used to mark out those things that can or cannot be thought of – in a policy sense – as 'heritage'. Indeed, it has become self-referential. While this historical context provides an essential understanding of the character of the AHD, what is crucial for this thesis are those points at which that characterisation is explicitly and discursively *sustained* in the face of threat. Indeed, the crux of the argument developed in this thesis emerges out of precisely that juncture. I argue that the most important, and perhaps most ardently *concealed*, attempts to sustain the AHD have occurred within the context of calls for social inclusion. Here, the concept of 'heritage' has visibly undergone a process of both denunciation *and* eulogisation, prompting the production and dissemination of a suite of new policy directions within the heritage sector. The immediate response was to sponsor a move away from the vilified subjectivities and connotations caught up with the term 'heritage', towards what is presumed to be the more objective – and therefore more inclusive – term 'the historic environment'. A second, and more long-term, response was to instigate a re-packaging or re-marketisation of 'heritage' in a range of policies *and* practice, which seeks to invite or appeal to those groups currently defined as 'excluded'. What these strategies do, however, is take for granted that there is nothing intrinsically limiting about the *idea* of 'heritage' (or 'the historic environment, as it is now named') that lies at the heart of the policy process. This, I will argue, is the implicit work of discourse.

For the purposes of developing the above argument, I start with the premise that 'heritage' is a discursive construction with a range of ideological dimensions. Immediately, this pulls together a range of associated debates and social science methodologies, and primarily situates the research within the context of the following questions:

- *How* did a particular understanding of 'heritage' reach prominence?
- *Which* historical circumstances fostered the emergence, mobilisation, contours and transformations of that discourse?



- *Why* does this understanding receive continued legitimisation as an authority while other competing and contradictory discourses are marginalised and discredited?
- *What* are the social effects of that dominance?

In addressing these questions, this thesis becomes an attempt to explore the social realities of the establishment, regulation and naturalisation of a dominant discourse within the ‘heritage’ domain. It endeavours to make visible the opaque workings of power that hold that discourse in place by examining the ways in which it is expressed, constituted and legitimised by language-in-use or language-in-action. Moreover, the analysis is situated at what is a timely and politically visible point of conflict, in which a discourse manufactured to contend with issues of inclusion interdiscursively forms a hybrid relationship with a discourse that *already prioritises* a particular social group. Without an understanding of the longevity of the AHD, and the sustaining, discursive work that the discourse *does* in privileging a particular notion of ‘heritage’ and particular social groups, calls for social inclusion and other debates agitating for equity, deliberative democracy and equitable dialogue will always fall on deaf ears.

### THESIS PROPOSITIONS

This thesis draws on three key propositions developed by Laurajane Smith (Heritage Studies), Ruth Levitas (Sociology) and Norman Fairclough (Critical Discourse Analysis). Principally, this thesis rests upon the work of Smith (2006), who proposes that there is a hegemonic *Authorised Heritage Discourse* (AHD), met by a range of competing, dissonant and alternative ‘heritage’ discourses. The AHD, Smith (2006: 29) argues:

*...focuses attention on aesthetically pleasing material objects, sites, places and/or landscapes that current generations ‘must’ care for, protect and revere so that they may be passed to nebulous future generations for their ‘education’, and to forge a sense of common identity based on the past.*

While it is only *one* discourse within the orders of discourse that surround the social practice of ‘heritage’, it has become *the* dominant discourse. Smith’s own work charts the consequences that this discursive naturalisation has had for the practice of heritage, particularly in terms of the ways it works to exclude or marginalise alternative understandings of ‘heritage’ and their expressions. Perhaps the most significant consequence to note here is the *apparent* emptying out of the ideological substance of the discourse. What this means is that the

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management process has become so constrained and mediated by the parameters of the AHD that heritage management has simply become a technical matter that can be understood through that acquisition of knowledge and technical skills (Smith 2004). The assumptions, philosophies and ideologies that the management process stands upon have been more or less completely masked. Within this work, Smith (2006: 42) acknowledges that the characterisation of the AHD she puts forward is simply that: a *characterisation*. An important task for this thesis is thus to build upon her identification by fleshing out this characterisation and providing a deeper account of its nuances, variations and transformations.

To a lesser degree, this thesis also draws upon the work of Ruth Levitas and her discussions of New Labour's discourses of social exclusion. Unlike Smith, however, this work is used to develop a sense of the context that surrounds the work I am developing here, rather than more actively contributing to the analysis itself. Levitas's work finds synergy not only with Smith's account of the AHD as an exclusionary discourse, but with the increasing familiarity of terms such as 'inclusion', 'exclusion' and 'cohesion' within the heritage sector as well. Indeed, as Levitas (2005: 1) argues, "*The age of inclusion has arrived ... But so too did the new language of political debate*". It is this proposition of the 'arrival' of a new political language, held up by the framework of 'social inclusion', that provides the second organising cornerstone for this thesis. In signifying the political context from which this thesis draws relevance, Levitas's work is used to stress the contestation facing the AHD, which now finds itself within a context attempting to weave together multiple perspectives. As such, the potential for contestation and calls for plurality become not only accepted, but expected. If such a situation is invited, then it is also essential that we take seriously the *implications* of social inclusion, not only in terms of policy but with reference to practice. While Levitas focuses on the wider project of 'exclusion', the attention she draws to the inherent limits, contradictions and ambiguities of New Labour's discourses of social inclusion, and the significant consequences these have each time those discourses are exported and taken up across different networks of social practices, is nonetheless crucial for Heritage Studies. Positively linked with notions of community regeneration and identity building, heritage, like many other areas of social life, has been recontextualised as an instrument of governance used to manage, conform and cajole the political practice of inclusion. Talk of social inclusion has saturated the heritage sector, bringing with



it notions of ‘public value’, ‘multiplicity’ and ‘cultural plurality’, but it is not yet clear how successfully this rhetoric will translate into practice. For Levitas (2005: 234), that translation is like trying “...*to fight the battle with both hands tied behind our backs*”.

The final proposition I have drawn upon to organise this thesis offers both theoretical and methodological robustness. Although CDA is an integral methodology utilised in this thesis, it also provides the central theoretical platform (Richardson 2007: 220) from which I begin. The argument I attempt to develop is underpinned by a central premise espoused by Fairclough (2001c: 24), who proposes that:

*...what is going on socially is, in part, what is going on interdiscursively in the text ...and that the interdiscursive work of the text materialises in its linguistic and other semiotic features.*

Simply put, every social practice will inevitably have a semiotic element (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258; Fairclough 2001a; Martin and Wodak 2003). Semiosis, both in the mediation, representation and self-representation of social practices, and as irreducible elements of social life, constitutes discourses (Fairclough 2001c: 235; Taylor 2001: 9; Fairclough 2003: 3; Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Sayer 2004; Marston 2004: 36; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 44). Built into this understanding of discourse is the dialectical relationship between semiosis and broader social practices, which proposes that discourses are socially constitutive and socially conditioned, and are thus explicitly tied up with notions of power (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258; Waterton *et al.* 2006: 343). With the exercise of power comes the possibility of resistance, and Fairclough’s (2001c: 235) proposal also includes the understanding that while some discourses achieve dominance, other ways of making meaning are inevitably marginalised, obscured and obfuscated. If those alternative and marginalised discourses are more or less entirely shut down, the dominating discourse ceases to be arbitrary and instead appears ‘natural’ or ‘neutral’, or, as Fairclough (1989: 91–92) puts it, heads down “...*the royal road to common sense*”. The AHD, I will argue, has indeed travelled Fairclough’s ‘road to common sense’. However, any given hegemonic discourse does not enjoy an undisputed sense of pre-eminence and will be challenged and contested, and thus put at risk in the course of social struggles (Fairclough 2001c: 235). These concepts of power, hegemony and resistance are vitally important concepts to keep in mind, and will be returned to in later sections.

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In order to explore the questions outlined earlier (pages 6–7), the project of this thesis is to examine the heritage management process through the framework offered by critical discourse analysis, both in terms of theory and method. In taking forward Smith’s assertion of the AHD in conjunction with Levitas’s new political language of social inclusion, Fairclough offers us the vantage point from which we can test, analyse and comment upon the social problems this triggers for the practice of heritage. This is done by examining how that practice manifests itself both textually (CDA) and in the diverse ways people think and construct ‘heritage’ for themselves (Q Methodology).

With these propositions in mind, the aims and objectives for this thesis are:

- 1. To establish the existence of Smith’s AHD within heritage policy in the UK.**

This first step reveals the historical development of the AHD and establishes the overarching assumptions that characterise this discourse in a range of policy documents. In identifying concrete examples of the discourse within the linguistic features of texts, I also further develop Smith’s characterisation and establish a more nuanced understanding of the discourse. Reflecting upon a chronological depth and breadth of policy documents, I identify the circulation, consumption and regulation of this discourse beyond individual texts. I also examine the coherence that exists between the texts analysed and ‘the world’ itself, thereby taking account of the ideological affects and hegemonic outcomes of the discourse in practice.

- 2. To examine a point of conflict, taking as an example the injection of social inclusion and ‘public value’ debates into the heritage agenda.**

This step allows for the analysis of *how* (or *if*) the AHD reasserts its power, particularly in the face of discursive struggles that potentially leave it open to risk. A second important task for this thesis is thus to identify how the AHD encounters, accepts and/or compromises alternative discourses organised around the terms of social inclusion and public value. One way in which this is achieved is through *hidden power*, or the ways in which power-holders are forced to utilise



less visible mechanisms for wielding and exerting power, and maintaining the status quo that suits them.

**3. To explore the hybridisation of the AHD with the ambiguities of social inclusion.**

Through the unification of insights developed by Smith and Levitas, the third task of this thesis is to examine the consequences of the hybridisation of the AHD and social inclusion. If Levitas's criticisms of the elasticity of social inclusion are correct, and it operates at a level of rhetoric rather than reality, questions need to be asked as to what the social effects of this hybridisation might be. These range from the possibility of genuine inclusion policy directions to a continued paternalistic and patronising framework of management, to one that is explicitly more assimilatory in a bid to sustain the authority of the AHD in the face of risk. As such, the final aim of this thesis is to question whether the importation of social inclusion discourses into the heritage sector has resulted in genuine emancipatory objectives or, rather, have seen the embedding of discursive mechanisms in policy, which are then drawn upon to mask and disguise the contradictory nature of that hybridisation.

### **THE THESIS RATIONALE**

This thesis has an explicit interest in public policy and policy-making. Debate uniting heritage and policy began in earnest in the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s, when the growing need and desire to conserve 'the past' facilitated the formalisation (or re-formulation) of heritage management in the form of legislation and policy (Cleere 1989b; Carmen 1996, 2002; Hewison 1996; Smith 2001, 2004). From that point onwards, 'heritage' became associated with a distinct set of policy criteria, procedures and technicalities recognisable both at national and international levels. This association was not without its critics, however, and the debates underpinning their criticisms have played an important role in defining the directions taken in this thesis. Four particular facets of those debates are noteworthy: the heritage industry critiques of the 1980s; advocacies for greater community involvement; recognition of intangible heritages; and democratising debates centred on concepts of 'public value'.

To begin, the challenges issued by various Western community groups and non-Western stakeholders have implicitly influenced the philosophical platform upon

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which this thesis rests. These have drawn attention to local and sub-national contexts, ‘lived’ experiences and encounters with the past, cultural processes of heritage, its inherently dissonant nature and the intangibility of *doing* heritage. In part, this thesis derives from the challenges these debates have laid regarding the very nature of ‘heritage’. More visible perhaps in their influence, though no more important, have been the vociferous *Heritage Industry* debates of the 1980s, which criticised the commodification and fetishisation of the past, notions of elitism and a perceptible middle-class focus and the corruptibility of heritage, associated with historians Patrick Wright and Robert Hewison. The work undertaken for this thesis explicitly rises out of these debates and acknowledges many of the criticisms raised, though it criticises its conservative nature. It also very obviously connects with current policy emphases on ‘public value’ and ‘social inclusion’, not least by focusing on the occurrences of these tropes, or discursive markers, in recent policy. These debates have framed heritage in a light that demonstrates the lasting contributions it can make to wider social issues. In these two debates, the inherently negative tone of the heritage industry critiques is pitted against the more optimistic agendas of ‘public value’. These two debates thereby provide the impetus for the dichotomy surrounding the ‘bad’ and the ‘good’ of heritage that began this thesis, and it is primarily for this reason that they are privileged here. Their radically different reframing of the work ‘heritage’ does suggest that they ought to occupy two diametrically opposed sides to the argument. Yet what is most interesting about these two debates of ‘heritage’ is the considerable conceptual space they actually *share* – a space that I will argue is monitored, regulated and sustained by one particular discourse: the AHD.

As such, while this thesis *begins* from what appears to be two distinct debates, it also *ends* with those debates, in a manner that I hope will add to them significantly – by suggesting that they are far more similar than is often realised (with the exception of Smith 2006), differing only in rhetoric, rather than substance. In short, the later debates concerned with ‘public value’ and ‘social inclusion’ are in many ways a subtle transformation of the AHD. By drawing attention to the existence of the AHD in an explicit *policy* sense, and revealing the extraordinary work this discourse does in a *social* sense, the contribution offered by this thesis lies with the revelations it can make about the realities of that rhetoric. This thesis does not pretend to provide an exhaustive account of the nature of heritage policy in England but, rather, intends to offer insight into



the overwhelming complexity of the situation. It is thus a point of departure rather than an end product – and that point of departure lies with exposing the power of discourse. The grander aspirations of equitable dialogue, social inclusion, deliberative public involvement and greater equality can never be achieved unless that power is recognised.

### **“DISCOURSE AS DATA”:<sup>1</sup> THE THESIS METHODOLOGIES**

The dataset drawn upon to investigate the discursive constructions of ‘heritage’ analysed in this thesis derive from three rough areas of social and qualitative research: (1) archival research, Internet publications and sites, popular reviews, debates recorded in Hansard, Acts of Parliament, publications and documents, internal memos, letters and reports, brochures and magazines, along with a range of policy documents, all of which will be subjected to the analytical techniques of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA); (2) social surveying provided by Q Methodology, undertaken with a wide variety of participants employed within nationally, regionally and locally based heritage organisations and institutions, academics and heritage students concerned with heritage issues, policy advisers, museum staff, local community ‘heritage’ group members, Members of Parliament and Historic Environment Champions, all of which were conducted and analysed using PQ Method 2.11, a statistical program underpinned by factor analysis (see Chapter 4); and (3) a number of semi-structured, non-directive interviews undertaken with a range of key practitioners employed within national heritage organisations. This latter material constitutes data in two senses: both as material to be analysed in its own right and as information used to contextualise interpretations emerging from both (1) and (2). This choice of methods has yielded a range of materials for analysis, which will be enumerated below.

#### *Text-based Data*

The arguments developed in this thesis are based upon a range of published and unpublished policy materials. These include a sequence of policy documents, White Papers, consultation texts, legislative Acts and policy guidance notes, freely available either in hard copy or online, produced between 1979 and 2006. In conjunction with published texts, the analysis also utilised evidence gleaned from a number of unpublished sources, including internal letters, historical

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<sup>1</sup> Wetherall, M., Taylor, S. and Yates, S. (eds) (2001) *Discourse as Data: A Guide for Analysis*. London: SAGE Publications.

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records, consultation responses, reports, memos and policy drafts, gathered from both online and institutional archival sources, and textual material obtained during ethnographic exercises and interviews with employees working within both English Heritage and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport. The breadth and range of textual material gathered as data for this thesis was guided by the theoretical propositions overviewed above, and a timeframe provided by the formulations of the *Ancient Monuments Act* of 1882 and recent debates underpinning the as-yet-unpublished *Heritage White Paper*, expected ‘shortly’ (Hansard, House of Commons Debates, 16<sup>th</sup> January 2007, c1039W [Heritage White Paper, David Lammy]).

### *Interview Data*

A total of 34 in-depth interviews, a schedule of which can be found in **Appendix 1**, were carried out for this research. These interviews took place with employees and practitioners explicitly concerned with cultural heritage management, policy formulation and heritage research in England, and were supplemented by further interviews undertaken with professionals working within the World Heritage Centre (UNESCO) and the Division of Cultural Heritage (UNESCO). The interviews were used to generate qualitative data useful for the analytical tradition of CDA and, as a consequence, were semi-structured and relatively non-directive. For each interview, I used a guide of ten key questions (see **Appendix 2**), along with informal, flexible probing to encourage interviewees to discuss at length any issues, values and experiences they saw as relevant. Most interviews were carried out within specific organisational or institutional settings, and thus provided an opportunity to observe and contextualise the corporate identity of the material interpreted, as well as tap into the range of narratives and storylines each individual used to construct a sense of ‘heritage’. The key questions were used as a guide rather than a formula, providing a loose system for monitoring the interview process rather than directing it in its entirety. The interviews were tape-recorded and transcribed, with the resultant transcriptions constituting an important part of the data analysed and interpreted for the thesis. Interview Four, which was conducted as a telephone interview (**Appendix 4**), provides an exception. Interviews varied in length, but tended to fall somewhere between one and two hours in duration, and ended with each interviewee undertaking a Q sort exercise. Interviewee Four, as a telephone interview, did not complete her Q sort in person, but did so by post. Each interview is cited within the text of the thesis



by interview number, institutional affiliation and date of interview (i.e. *Interviewee Six, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2005*).

### *Q Methodology Data*

In addition to the 34 Q sorts gathered during the in-depth interview process, a further 85 participants took part in the Q study, bringing the total number of Q sorts analysed to 119. The Q study involved the ranking of 64 statements regarding 'heritage' issues in a process that took anywhere from fifteen minutes to one hour, depending on the individual sorter. The participants drew from a diversity of ages, gender and social backgrounds: professionally, they varied from students to retirees to professionals working within national or international organisations. The material gathered from this exercise provided a complementary database from which to establish an impression of a fuller range of perspectives regarding 'heritage' issues. While respondents for this data-gathering exercise were chosen both randomly and non-randomly, they always shared an interest in, or involvement with, cultural heritage management and/or policy-making. Several participants were approached to facilitate this process due to their role within the management process but, equally, a large number were randomly sampled at conferences, seminars and workshops. The overall selection of participants was therefore guided both by person-locations and subject-positionings (Stainton Rogers 1995: 182). In conjunction with the Q sorts, short, informal conversational interviews were undertaken with most participants as a means by which to get a clearer contextualisation of the nuances and subtleties of each perspective. These interviews were neither taped nor transcribed. Roughly one quarter of the Q sorts were carried out by post and, as such, these were not accompanied by conversational interviews.

## AN OUTLINE OF THE THESIS

The thesis is divided into nine chapters, which are organised into three broader parts. Part I identifies the philosophical (Chapter 2), theoretical (Chapter 3) and methodological (Chapters 3 and 4) underpinnings upon which this thesis is based. All three chapters share an interest in recognising and understanding the discursive nature of 'heritage' and elaborate on the dialectical relationship between semiotics and broader social practices. **Chapter 2** offers a critical overview of the range of heritage debates out of which this thesis emerges, paying close attention to the historical development and mobilisation of the

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AHD, the polemic critiques of the *Heritage Industry* developed in the 1980s, particularly those observations championed by historians Robert Hewison and Patrick Wright, and discussions surrounding social inclusion. Drawing from this historical framework, the aim of the chapter is to establish a representative characterisation of the AHD as it has materialised in contemporary heritage policy. Additionally, the chapter sketches out the accepted philosophical propositions that underpin the argument developed in the thesis, drawing on literature emerging in heritage studies, as well as tourism, sociology, cultural studies and public history. **Chapter 3**, in acknowledging the shortcomings revealed by Chapter 2, provides the theoretical and methodological framework utilised in this thesis. In adopting a multi-method approach, I attempt to draw together a suite of perspectives and techniques united by an interest in, and privileging of, 'discourse'. As such, this chapter reflects upon the critical social scientific philosophical tradition of Critical Realism (CR), the social perspective and analytical techniques specifically associated with Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA), and a synthesis of a range of more general discourse-analytical, visual and public policy techniques. It also outlines the interview process, reflecting primarily upon the practicalities and ethics of collecting data material of a qualitative nature. **Chapter 4** continues with an emphasis on language, and introduces Q Methodology as a means by which not only to explore the reality of a dominant heritage discourse, but also unearth a more nuanced picture of the argumentative textures that surround 'heritage'. This chapter defines and explains the diagnostic nature of Q Methodology and argues for its relevance to the overall argument developed in this thesis. Importantly, interpretations arising from the Q study undertaken as part of this thesis are offered here, presenting a persuasive overview of a range of heritage discourses, along with an indication of the mutability of the AHD.

Part II (Chapters 5, 6 and 7) presents the original research of the thesis, which is based upon a number of fieldwork initiatives conducted within heritage organisations and institutions in England. Drawing primarily on public policy analysis, but supplemented with interview material and Q Methodological insights, this section collectively offers a documentation and critical examination of the development, regulation and perpetuation of the authorised heritage discourse within heritage policy. **Chapter 5**, informed by the analytical framework developed in Chapter 3 and the interpretative overview of Chapter 4,



begins to trace the enduring dominance of the AHD. Drawing on a selection of core policy documents, legislative codes and parliamentary debates, this chapter presents the first part of a chronologically organised argument. Focusing on the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s, a history of the AHD is traced, with particular emphasis placed on *how* and *why* the ideological undercurrents of this timeframe found such strong synergies within the heritage sector, resulting in their naturalisation. The arguments established in this chapter revolve around themes of nationalism, the popularisation of heritage and the assumed physicality of the past. All three of these themes remain at the forefront of the chapters in this part. **Chapter 6** takes up an interest in New Labour's commitment to 'social inclusion', and charts how this discursive injection has influenced the heritage sector. Reflecting upon the analysis of the AHD in Chapter 5, and paying particular attention to its naturalisation and nationalisation, this chapter explores the increasingly familiar project of social inclusion, both in terms of its rhetoric and ultimate operationalisation. The assimilatory nature of this project remains the central theme for this chapter, in which concepts of 'participation', 'education' and 'visitation' are exposed for the discursive work they do in achieving consent and a nationalised sense of 'heritage'. **Chapter 7** presents the final argumentative strand for this thesis in its analysis of the most recent policy developments in the heritage sector. With focus on debates surrounding 'public value' and their links to discourses of social inclusion, this chapter examines the sacralisation of an inherently *good* 'historic environment' as a means to overcome the lingering criticisms levelled at the *bogus* and *malign* nature of 'heritage'. Despite a discursive rejigging of heritage terminology, this chapter reveals that nothing has substantially changed in terms of the definitions and operations espoused by the AHD. What emerges, instead, is the strange discursive hybridisation of 'heritage' and 'social inclusion', resulting in what amounts to the new *brand name* 'historic environment'. The covert suggestion of social engineering, implicit within the rhetoric of 'inclusion', is focused upon here and is used to further substantiate the argument that it is a product of discursive persuasion, rather than a reality.

Part III provides an in-depth discussion of the themes and arguments introduced in Part I and developed in Part II. It ends with a summation of the conclusions reached within the scope of this thesis in **Chapter 8**. This chapter reflects upon the aims of the thesis and weaves together the conclusions emergent from the three-part argument collectively developed by Chapters 5, 6 and 7. It examines

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the re-occurrence of a dominant and excluding discourse across the face of public policy in England, and draws conclusions about what is driving the process. The seemingly refreshing importation of social inclusion initiatives is revealed to be surprisingly limp, and more circumspect than originally anticipated, in turning their agendas, as they do, towards assimilating *people* rather than developing a more inclusive understanding of *heritage* itself. The agenda of social inclusion transpires as a wider mechanism of governance called upon to achieve consent and consensus and, in the process, subdue the crises of exclusion, intolerance and cultural difference. As such, what at first may appear to be a struggle over language and the choice of words masks a reality within which there is a lot more at stake. Indeed, it reflects a more insidious conflict of interest that carries implications for wider debates concerned with socio-economic, ethnic and racial inequalities.



# PART I

## THE THESIS UNDERPINNINGS



## BECOMING 'HERITAGE'

### INTRODUCTION: DISCOURSES OF 'HERITAGE' THAT MATTER

In the Introduction to this thesis, I suggested that the ways in which we talk, think and write about 'heritage' issues *matter*. More specifically, they matter because they influence, construct, reflect and constitute not only the ways in which we act, but how we identify and manage 'heritage' in practice. How we talk about 'heritage' is therefore not only important in terms of verbal communication, it also materialises in concrete situations. In other words, how 'heritage' is dominantly framed across a range of influential debates will acquire *life* and occur in practice. The point of this thesis, I suggested, was to provoke a sense of that 'reciprocity' between discourse and reality (Gee 1999: 82 – see also Fairclough 1989; Purvis and Hunt 1993; Philips and Hardy 2002; McKenna 2004: 12) in terms of heritage management in England.

The aim of this chapter is to begin the process of understanding the relationship between discourse and reality by focusing upon the development of discrete ways of thinking about 'heritage'. To do so, I will map the cognate heritage literature from which this thesis emerges, as well as provide a sense of the philosophical underpinnings that inform the overall arguments I intend to develop. Four principle areas of debate will be reflected upon: new ways of theorising 'heritage' emerging from Heritage Studies (cf. Dicks 2000a,b, 2003; Harvey 2001; Graham 2002; Bagnall 2003; Smith 2006); the historical debates that saw not only the arrival of the *Authorised Heritage Discourse*, but also its extensive policy uptake; the 'heritage industry' critiques of the 1980s (cf. Wright 1985; Hewison 1987; Lumley 1988; Walsh 1992 – for robust responses, see Urry 1990; Samuel 1994); and more recent attempts to argue for the social relevance of 'heritage' within the policy sphere, through tropes of 'social inclusion', 'social capital' and 'public value' (cf. Sandell 2003; Newman and McLean 2004a,b, 2006; Mason 2004a, 2005). All four



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areas have influenced this thesis to a significant degree and as such warrant exploration.

In this chapter, I will examine each area of debate in turn and reveal the implicit power and salience of 'discourse'. I will do this with particular reference to the ways in which orders of discourse mediate how different debates influence the development of heritage policy. Each area of debate will therefore constitute one element of the three-part argument I want to develop. The core of this argument rests with the proposition that there is a hegemonic conceptualisation of 'heritage' in England, which emerged and gained strength throughout the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. That discourse continues to hold influence today and, as such, privileges a limited range of elite and exclusive social experiences and values within contemporary policy and practice. The second part of the argument I want to develop is grounded in the notion that *any* hegemonic condition is inevitably fragile, and thus how it deflects or disarms resistance is open to question (Richardson 2007: 37). To illustrate this second part, I will look at two moments of critique visible within the heritage literature – the 'heritage industry' critique and the tensions emerging from issues of 'social inclusion'. These areas of debate will be utilised to illustrate what can only be described as limited attempts to challenge the dominance of the AHD. The third and final part of this argument advances that there is no *single* way of thinking about 'heritage'. Indeed, it is something that is not only discursively conditioned, but is constituted in practice. While this understanding of 'heritage' has become increasingly well established within recent literature, it, too, has been granted no presence or latitude in terms of policy. The collective obfuscation of these attempts to challenge the dominant discourse in a policy sense must be seen as a consequence of discourse or of power relations that such a discourse both reflects and maintains.

A common thread that weaves its way through all three pockets of debates (with the exception of Hall 1999; Howard 2006; Smith 2006) is a failure to acknowledge the constitutive power of 'discourse' and 'practice'. Thus far, this has resulted in one of two consequences: (a) a failure to acknowledge that the idea of 'heritage' embedded in policy does not necessarily reflect the ways in which 'heritage' is understood in reality; or (b) laudable attempts to challenge established notions of 'heritage' without recognising the links between the

dominance of that established notion and the naturalising powers of discourse, specifically those operative at the policy level. The three-part argument developed in this chapter thereby departs from the heritage literature it utilises, and feeds into the overall rationale of this thesis in one clear way: it attempts to *identify* the impasse created by the power of discourse and *demonstrate* that impasse within the fine-grained analysis of a range of texts. Indeed, I have argued that it is only through an apprehension and problematisation of the power of discourse that the seeming inevitability of recent policy directions can be explicitly and critically challenged. However, in order to create the discursive space within which to move around and beyond that impasse, I need to demonstrate *how* that dominant discourse was enacted, and reveal *which* discursive repertoires it draws upon to maintain and sustain its position.

This chapter is chronologically structured in order to piece together a comprehensive understanding of the history of 'heritage'. This chronology will begin with an examination of the arrival of the AHD and tease out the core assumptions that animate the discourse. It will then explore the first wave of critique, which emerged as a reaction to the unification of the AHD with Thatcherite cultural policies. Here, I will place particular emphasis upon how those critiques were subtly framed and understood through the *same* discursive lenses they were attempting to challenge. The chapter will then move on to briefly examine a more recent wave of critique, which sponsored a range of literature attempting to engage with issues of multiculturalism, social inclusion and cultural diversity. Again, I will explore this literature with a focus upon how it was guided and restricted by an unrecognised adherence to the AHD. However, before pursuing these directions, I want to turn first to the third part of the argument I identified above, which characterises 'heritage' as a cultural process, as these debates form the philosophical underpinnings from which this thesis emerges. While this philosophy is associated with more recent literature emerging from Heritage Studies, and will therefore be examined out of chronological turn, so to speak, it is essential for positioning not only the remainder of this chapter, but the thesis as a whole. It is for this reason that I will present that literature first.

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## THE PHILOSOPHICAL UNDERPINNINGS

The task of this section is to briefly propose the understanding of ‘heritage’ I draw upon to underpin the arguments developed in this thesis. As suggested in the Introduction, this underpinning is informed by the assumption that discourse forms an active part of ‘social action’ (Wetherell 2001a: 15). By this, I mean it *does* something – it creates and constructs a version of reality (Wetherell 2001a: 17). From the premise that ‘heritage’ is itself a subject of discourse or, in other words, discursively constructed, it follows that while heritage may take up a material form, it is nonetheless a multi-sensual, multi-imaginative and multi-discursive experience, as argued by Smith 2006 (but see also Crouch 2000, 2001, 2002, 2003a,b; Nash 2000; Urry 1990; Crouch and Parker 2003; Crouch and Grassick 2005; Thrift 2006 – for a broader introduction to embodied theory, see also Johnson 1999; Weiss and Harber 1999). Most importantly, it can never lie completely beyond our ‘talk’. For this thesis, ‘heritage’ loses its predominantly material edge in a second sense, as well, such that it is envisioned as a *process*, a verb, or something that is done – you *do* heritage (Harvey 2001 327; Smith 2006: 44, Smith 2007a: 5). In much the same way as Crouch (2003: 24) suggests that “...*space can be encountered in a process of spacing*” and nature in a process of ‘naturing’, so too can heritage be experienced and encountered in a process of ‘heritaging’. An important consequence of this re-characterisation is that it becomes something that is reflexively constructed in, and about, the present (Crang 1996: 24; see also B. Graham 2002: 1004).

For this thesis, ‘heritage’ is thus imagined as something that is sensuous, expressive, emotive, affective and always in motion. This re-theorisation of ‘heritage’ plays a crucial role in framing the discourse-related problem I have identified for this thesis. The role it plays is three-part: first and foremost, it identifies that ‘heritage’ is understood and experienced in a variety of ways; second, and linked to this, it problematises many of the management activities and perceived user needs associated with the practice of ‘heritage’; and, third, it calls into question the identity and reflexive construction of heritage management in England. The re-theorisation does this by compounding and integrating the realities of ‘knowing’, ‘being’ and ‘doing’ – of understanding, imagining, thinking and feeling – such that we are textured and punctuated by ‘being in place’ with heritage (cf. Casey 1996). This more nuanced understanding of heritage is reflected in the work of Crang (1996), Hayden (1997), Dicks (1999,



2000a,b, 2003), Goulding (2001), Bagnall (2003), Macdonald (2003, 2005a) and Smith (2006), who integrate a range of related concepts to flesh out a new area of debate for Heritage Studies, such as remembering, personal identity formation, intangibility, everyday and vernacular 'heritage', collective memory, heritage tourism, embodied experience and acts of commemoration, and draw in various notions and concepts from the wider humanities and social sciences (cf. Hobsbawm and Ranger 1983; Connerton 1989; Radley 1990; Maier 1993; Assmann and Czaplicka 1995; Bell 1999; Burkitt 1999; Olick 1999; Girvin and Roberts 2000; Shackel 2000, 2001, 2004; Climo and Cattell 2002; Kansteiner 2002; Wertsch 2002; Hodgkin and Radstone 2003a,b; Huyssen 2003; Myszal 2003; Shannan Peckham 2003a; Aldrich 2005; Beiner 2005; Carrier 2005; Suleiman 2006). Heritage sites, places, acts, experiences and monuments, through this re-imagining, become *devices* that are imbued with meaning, and used to trigger and guide a self-conscious dialogue between personal and collective memories and experiences. The 'moment of heritage', as Smith (2006: 2) points out, is thus re-conceived as "*...the act of passing on and receiving memories and knowledge*". Objects, places, landscapes, monuments and buildings, while implicated in many instances of 'heritage' as mnemonic props, are therefore not forced to be present at all. 'Heritage', in this sense, becomes something that is *produced* by, and through, a range of objects, places and acts; becoming what Sturken (1996: 10) refers to as a 'technology of memory'. In this way, remembering, recollecting and forgetting all become part and parcel of the process of *doing* heritage – and critical self-reflection, by the same token, becomes a part of the reciprocal process by which memory is enacted and put to use (Suleiman 2006: 8).

However, as Sturken (1991: 9) also points out, 'heritage', like memory, reveals "*...the stake held by individuals and institutions in attributing meaning to the past*" (see also Olick and Robbins 1998: 126; Sutton 2000: 208; Friedman and Kenny 2005: 3; Wodak 2006: 180). Sturken further develops this argument using work by Myers (cited in Sturken 1991: 136–137), who observes that "*A block of stone may be a powerful text with many subtexts, or it may be an inert simplification of historical reality that assuages memory – it depends on the readership*". Alternatively, as Smith (2006: 3) suggests in relation to Stonehenge, it may simply be a "*...collection of rocks in a field*". There are two important points to be taken from this that are relevant here: first, power must be recognised within the realm of 'heritage'; and, second,

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our attention needs to be drawn to issues of representation and readership. An important consequence of this construction of 'heritage' is it raises the possibility of a *dominant* understanding of the past, also attached to a range of objects, sites and experiences, which enact what Sturken (1991: 118) refers to as a metaphoric screen. Through a process of naturalisation, this screen can work to hide, dismiss, de-legitimise or side-line alternative interpretations, offering itself as a seemingly consensual substitute for what would ordinarily be a *range* of highly emotive and dissonant experiences. This is an important additive to the literature drawn upon in this section, as it explicitly attempts to recognise and emphasise the existence of power *within* and *behind* discourse. The point I want to draw from this is that the process of 'heritage' is never entirely unconstrained; it never goes on living within our bodies, multi-sensually and multi-imaginatively, unchecked. In reality – and this is an important point for this thesis – it is monitored and organised by a variety of heritage opportunities and/or organisations, which regulate, influence and contextualise through discourse, practice and policy, but do not direct, unreservedly, each performance (Edensor 2001).

### *Dissonant Heritage*

Heritage, as a discursive construction, is thus a space of inherent argument and contestation. It is not possible for us all to piece together exactly the same understanding of 'heritage', as we all weave together different notions of identity, value, experience, emotion and memory within the discursive space it provides (see Wetherell 2001a: 25). As such, the very notion of 'heritage' accepted by this thesis predicates itself around the idea of opposition – it is also operating *against* a range of perspectives and discourses of heritage. Although the concept of 'dissonant heritage' was initially raised with the work of Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996), it has since been developed and advanced in a number of significant contributions (Graham *et al* 2000; Ashworth 2002; B. Graham 2002; Smith 2006). Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996: 20) use the phrase to refer to the tensions, discordance or lack of congruence, whether active or latent, which are inherent to the very nature and meanings of heritage (Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996: 21; Beech 2000; Graham *et al.* 2000: 24; Graham *et al.* 2005: 33; Smith 2006: 80). Indeed, as Ashworth (2002: 363) points out,



*If all heritage is someone's heritage and therefore logically not someone else's, any creation of heritage from the past disinherits someone completely or partially.*

With this sentiment, Ashworth creates an image of a complex tapestry of heritages, with multiple and competing interpretations, perspectives and responses woven past or through each other (on this point, see also Ashworth and Tunbridge 1996: 21; Lowenthal 1998a: 4; Graham *et al.* 2000: 24; Graham *et al.* 2005: 34). Subsequently – and inevitably – these competing perspectives collide, engaging together in conflict, agitation, frustration and contestation (Graham *et al.* 2005: 33). As Smith (2006: 38) argues, this dissonant nature of heritage is always inflected with power and is inherently political, leading to the formal and/or informal legitimisation of those identities, meanings and understandings associated with any given act, use or experience of heritage.

Any understanding of heritage both determines, and is determined by, a dialectic relationship between society and discourse. For each understanding or perspective of heritage, the uses and experiences talked about are done so in different, sometimes incompatible, and varied ways. Moreover, the political nature of heritage occurs precisely within these struggles and disputes, “...*which occur in language and over language*” (Fairclough 1989: 23). This is similar to an argument developed by B. Graham (2002: 1005, see also Bagnall 2003: 95), who draws an analogy between ‘heritage’ and ‘language’ in order to suggest that “...*we create the ‘heritage’ that we require*” in, and for, the present. To make this argument, B. Graham (2002) draws upon the following argument developed by Stuart Hall:

*It is by our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them – how we represent them – that we give them a meaning* (Hall 1997: 3, cited in B. Graham 2002: 1005).

Moreover,

*It is us – in society, within human culture - who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another* (Hall 1997: 61, cited in B. Graham 2002: 1005).

Amid the competing discourses, one perspective, or discourse, inevitably becomes the particular version or interpretation that has behind it the power to make it *matter* (Hall 2005: 26). Overlooking, obscuring or denying the dissonant

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nature of *all* heritage is itself, therefore, reflective of the colonising nature of a dominant discourse. It also significantly masks the focussed role of heritage in any process of resistance, emancipation or empowerment (Graham *et al.* 2000: 93).

While this recognition of dissonance is a useful one for this thesis, it does need qualification. This is a point reiterated by Smith (2006), who takes issue with the notion that dissonance can be avoided (see, e.g., Ashworth and Tunbridge 1999: 110), or alternatively, that something can be done to eliminate or manage its occurrence (see, for example, Henderson 2001a; Meskell 2002a,b). What is problematic is the simple binary distinction that has been implied between the two concepts: leaving us *two* categories: 'heritage' and 'dissonant heritage'. Following this logic, 'dissonant heritage' is often found within literature dealing with difficult, dark, 'unwanted' or negative heritages and pasts, including the holocaust, slavery, massacres, genocide, political regimes and other aftermaths of violence (Graham 1996; Anson 1999; Peitsch *et al.* 1999; Beech 2000; Ashworth 2002; Dann and Seaton 2002; Krakover 2002; Macdonald 2006). Embedded with the assumption that "*...lessons can be learned for the avoidance of future atrocity*" (Ashworth 2002: 364), the notion of separating or managing 'dissonance' from 'heritage' speaks more of a humanitarian ideal than of reality. Indeed, dissonance is something that occurs between individuals, groups and communities *each* time they engage with an act, place or experience of heritage. If we accept the more nuanced understandings of doing 'heritage' offered by a discourse-orientated approach, dissonance becomes unavoidable. The momentum offered by dissonance therefore lies not with its associations with difficult or uncomfortable heritages, as something that exists outside of comfortable and safe heritage, but something that is part and parcel of all heritage encounters as discursive constructions.

What this brief overview argues is that 'heritage' is multi-faceted, and ultimately experienced in the present. It is not a collection of material forms, but a range of activities and experiences through which a range of identities, values, meanings and memories are created, negotiated and transformed. An important consequence of these varied moments of heritage is dissonance and contestation, which means that the process of 'heritage' is inevitably bound up with power. As such, different aspects of 'heritage' will be privileged to serve the interests of



particular, powerful groups (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 88), and alternative interpretations will be subordinated. While this thesis cannot hope to recognise and map the complete range of competing 'heritage' discourses, it *can* and *does* attempt to tease out an understanding of the dominant or authorised 'heritage' discourse, *based on the assumption that there exists a range of alternative discourses*.

### **"AN INFINITY OF TRACES":<sup>2</sup> THE AUTHORISED HERITAGE DISCOURSE**

In this section, I want to examine in more detail Smith's (2006) characterisation of the *Authorised Heritage Discourse* (AHD), and reflect on the literature supporting that proposition. This discourse is characterised by the privileging of expertise and efficiency, and is ostensibly driven by a responsibility to 'act for' and 'steward' a 'universal' past made up of 'grand', 'tangible', and 'aesthetically pleasing' sites, monuments and buildings. This materiality, the discourse asserts, needs to be 'conserved as found', as it is an inheritance to be conserved for future generations. The discourse is motivated by appeals to national identity, and limits the uses of heritage to education, tourism and rituals of nationalism. As a consequence, the AHD has defined heritage as having an unbroken relationship between past and future, with little negotiation within that relationship allowed for an active engagement with heritage in the past. Instead, 'the public' assumes a passive role to which the benefits of heritage are demonstrated. Moreover, in England, this 'public' has assumed the face of a particular and prioritised social group: the 'white' upper-middle and upper-classes.

With the exception of recent work by Smith (2006, but see also Howard 2006), the existence of an AHD remains, at this point, unsupported by extensive empirical research. While the overall aim of this thesis is to qualify the proposition that there is an AHD, which is mutable and adapting within policy over time, I need to introduce the existence of the AHD in a range of literature. Even though I have structured this discussion as an historical account, it acts more as a prop for further analysis (see Harvey 2001: 320). Indeed, I want to borrow from Harvey (2001: 320) and suggest that heritage "*...has always been with us and has always been produced by people*". While I accept this broad understanding of heritage, and it is certainly broader than what is often found in heritage literature

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<sup>2</sup> Gramsci (1971: 324).

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(cf. Cleere 1989a; Lowenthal 1998a: 1; Meskell 2002b; Shannan Peckham 2003b), this thesis adopts a focus that takes up an interest in a specific strand of ‘heritage’ (the AHD), which developed within a particular timeframe, under a certain set of influences. Throughout the course of this section, I will review the historical formation and rise to dominance of the above collection of characteristics.

### *Nationalising Heritage*

This review begins in the late eighteenth and nineteenth centuries in Western Europe, which draws on antecedents beginning in the Renaissance and the Enlightenment. Much of the change associated with this timeframe is often linked with the advent of modernity, nationalism, romanticism, liberalism and humanitarianism, and to some extent the opening up of a ‘globalised’ world (cf. Trigger 1989; Arnason 1990; Featherstone 1990; Fox 1990; Giddens 1990, 1991; Anderson 1983; Store 1992; Walsh 1992; George 1994; Rowlands 1994; Gardner and Lewis 1996; Matsuda 1996; Moore 1999; Harvey 2001; Olsen 2001; Conversi 2002; Christians 2003; Thomas 2004). Indeed, as Lloyd and Thomas (cited in Redfield 2003: 12 – see also Hagen 2006: 2) point out: “...*a remarkable convergence takes place in Europe between theories of the modern state and theories of culture*”. A central theme underpinning the responses to these changes was ‘experimental philosophy’ (Thomas 2004: 11), and an urge to formulate new ways of thinking about, and ultimately knowing, the world. An important consequence of this experimental philosophy was a belief in the pervasive autonomy of people (more accurately, men), which swiftly re-imagined humans (again, read here men) in the prevailing position of power (Christians 2003: 208; see also Smith 1995). Prominent thinkers experimenting with fresh ways of coming to terms with the world (Bacon, Descartes, Newton and, later, Comte) eventually cemented their scientific foundations with the advent of positivism (Comte 1830; Assiter 2001; Benton and Craib 2001). The arrival of positivism brought with it a belief in the concept of objectivity, the distinct separation of fact and value, the idea of value-neutrality and a neglect of the normative (Halfpenny 1982; Wylie 2002; Christians 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2003a; Fischer 2003a: 119). Operating around two central assumptions, the “...*fusion of the world and experience*” and the reduction of knowledge to the level of experience (Bhaskar 1989a: 55), positivism advanced the notions of observation, rationality and ‘truth’ (Nisbet 1980: 171), all of which have become embedded, in varying degrees, within the AHD. Emboldened by the confidence of this scientific truth, wider societal changes began to occur, driven



by an elite convinced by the merits of progress, reason and dispassionate universal knowledge (Hall 2005: 28), and a desire to overturn the perceived 'irrationality' and 'superstition' of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries. This timeframe includes a mass of discovery, with technological advancements acting as a material reminder of the reality of progress (Trigger 1989: 85, Trigger 1995b: 267), which became firmly anchored to a moral and ethical obligation to 'better' society.

The above context of the Enlightenment also bore out ideas of cultural (and racial) superiority, which shared conceptual space with European voyages of discovery and expansion, colonialism and imperialist enterprises also prevalent at that time (Gray 1995). This mix of superiority, race and ideas of progress sowed seeds of doubt regarding the ability of *all* people to acknowledge and benefit from a 'good' and 'better' society. Already, the humanitarian impulse underpinning the Enlightenment was fading, replaced with class tensions, racial prejudice and intellectual stratifications. At the same time, the emergence of modern trade, genuine market economies and maritime powers brought rapid and unrecognisable changes to commodity production and consumerism (Berend 2003: 6). Trigger (1995b: 268–269) suggests that it was in an attempt to counteract these tensions that the 'unity of nations' was forged, in which the problems assuaging one nation was blamed on another. Notions of 'blood', 'homeland' and 'territory' were increasingly thrown together, and developing social, political and cultural projects became inextricably linked with notions of national identity and nationalism as a consequence (cf. Murray 1989; Gillis 1994; Lowenthal 1994; Kohl and Fawcett 1995; Trigger 1995b; Champion 1996; Cooney 1996; Díaz-Andreu and Champion 1996; Graham *et al.* 2000; Harvey 2001; Conversi 2002; Smith 1991, 1998; Berend 2003; Kumar 2003; Hager 2006). Societal responses reflected new levels of coherence, optimism and, to a large degree, faith, resulting in what Benedict Anderson (1983) has labelled 'imagined communities', which, while abstractions or virtual realities, are nonetheless an absolute for the many people believing in their existence (Berend 2003: 44, – see also Osbourne 2001; Hager 2006). While on the one hand these projects culminated in the belief that Western Europe, as a whole, was the most biologically and culturally sophisticated, on the other hand it fostered competition *between* European countries that was driven by a self-belief in

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subjectively and imaginatively defined communities operating at the national level (Silberman 1995; Hides 1996; Glendinning 2003: 362; Waterton 2005: 313).

The material remains of the past became imbued with utmost importance as a part of this process, which saw Britain, France and Germany vying for prominence (Hitchcock 1954 – see also Starn 2002: 3; Emerick 2003). These material remains, it was assumed, represented narratives of progress, reinforcing European superiority and providing “...*global registers of modernity*” (Nash 1999: 22 – see also Thompson 2006: 2). Monuments, in particular, were irrefutably seen as “...*a testimony of the culture and continuity of the entire nation*” (Glendinning 2003: 362 – see also Lowenthal 1985: xvi; Casciato 2004: 154). This pronounced affinity for the ‘monumental’ (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 42; Rowlands 1993: 143; Willems 1998: 294) created an assumption of value that appeared self-evident, and thus unable to be changed (Carver 1996: 50). The cementing of a materialistic, historical perspective was secured both by the widespread acceptance of evolutionary perspectives and the rapid rise of nationalist sentiment (Trigger 1984: 356). Monuments became the vital historical documents of society and potent symbols of identity, building awareness, for the first time, of the material witnesses left behind by the past (Ashworth and Howard 1999: 37 – see also Harvey 2003; Meskell 2005). This conceptualisation of monumentality, based on the belief that value is firmly embedded within the fabric of the material form, gave rise to a prioritisation of a narrowly conceived understanding of monuments and sites (Rowlands 1993: 143 – see also Smith 2007a: 6–7). In England, the Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act 1979, the eighth successor in a list of Acts all referring primarily to the importance of monuments, reveals the long-standing assumption that monumentality is the principal means of defining heritage and its value (Carver 1996: 51).

The forging of national identities, the homogenisation of national languages, a unification of education systems and national defences, along with demographic changes all contributed to the stabilising of territorial and economic life. Instrumental to this mix were ideas of an object-orientated heritage, common myths and popular culture, which provided the national ‘consciousness’, ‘memory’ and feelings of ‘belonging’ for the newly prominent nation states (Graham *et al.* 2000: 12; Harvey 2001: 328). Heritage, as a social device expressive of cohesion and identity (Hobsbawm 1983b: 263 – see also Redfield 2003: 12), became an



important – and material – manifestation used to legitimise particular national narratives. However, while the imagined and fictitious communities of nations posed some level of uncertainty, so too did the equally constructed 'past' that was called upon to legitimise that community. However, in a manner not available for the nation itself, the need for heritage became obsessive about material remains, or giving the past material form, in an attempt to quell any uncertainty surrounding "...the 'reality' of the past" (Till 2005: 14). The assumed integrity of this 'reality' has led to a fetishisation of the material form, allowing objects, sites, buildings and monuments to become, in Lowenthal's (2000: 21) words, quasi-human.

### *Aestheticising Heritage*

Emergent from this rationalist and nationalist discourse was an evocative mix of romanticism, a sentimentalised pursuit arising also out of the Enlightenment, and an avid interest in human origins and achievements (Trigger 1995b: 268; Murray 1989: 59–60). As more and more social antagonisms and tensions arose out of intellectual and technological change, cultural elites pushed for the recognition of a shared heritage as a way of countering social disorder (Trigger 1995b: 269; Graham *et al.* 2005: 30). The privileging of aesthetics, a delight in natural beauty, as well as a counteracting fixation with corruption and evil, invited an interest in ruined abbeys and graves, along with other "...symbols of death and decay" (Edensor 2005: 11). Central to this collection of representations was a desire, as Edensor (2005: 11) notes, to produce a feeling of melancholy and offer a symbolic image of "...the inevitability of life passing". As Edensor (2005: 11) goes on to argue:

*Such a melancholic aesthetic tempered the optimism of modern industrial development, for ruins signified the transience of all earthly things despite the utopian promise of endless social advancement.*

If the ruin was seen as melancholic, it was so in a slightly mocking way, at once at odds with ideas of progress, domination and advancement, while simultaneously provoking a serious reflection on life and death, collapse and the end of Empire (Edensor 2005: 11). This romanticism, tinged with nostalgia, was also heavily predicated on a belief in the linear progression of world development. Subsequently, preserving aspects of a primitive, distant 'past' became a means for recognising and reminding people of their sovereignty (Karlström 2005: 345). As Edensor (2005: 13) points out, this romanticisation of

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the past was pervasive, demonstrated in the ‘created’ or manipulated ruins featured in many eighteenth- and nineteenth-century designed estates (see, for example, Macaulay 1953; Piggott 1976; Thompson 1981; Bailey 1984; Hunt and Willis 1988; Williamson 1995; Bending 1999). It was also a theme recurrent in letters, poems and literature at the time:

*Bless'd is the man, in whose sequester'd glade,  
Some ancient abbey's wall diffuse in their shade;  
With mould'ring windows, pierc'd, and turrets crown'd,  
And pinnacles with clinging ivy bound*  
(Richard Payne Knight, cited in Hunt and Willis 1988: 348)

Explicit within “... *the cult of the picturesque*” is an encoded – and imprinted – association with middle- and upper-class values (Hale 2001: 188 – see also Barthel 1996: 5f). While heritage was once again being drawn upon to support the identification of a distinct (and homogenous) group of people, the sense of identity it was intended to engender was specifically ‘middle-class’, a notion that continues to underwrite heritage management policies today (Karlström 2005: 345).

No concept, Harpham (cited in Redfield 2003: 10) argues, “...*is more fundamental to modernity than the aesthetic*”. As such, I want to unpack this concept a little further, as it is a notion that reappears with some regularity in current policy and legislative material. Indeed, it is a concept that, to a large degree, has been universalised within the heritage and conservation worlds. ‘Highly aestheticised’ and ‘picturesque’, for example, are characteristic tropes that have come to dominate, usually referring to crumbling monastic ruins, derelict country houses, the remains of castles and incomplete farmsteads (Edensor 2005: 11). Beyond its early beginnings in romanticism, notions of artistic and aesthetic value are more generally associated with the philosophies of John Ruskin (1819–1900) and William Morris (1834–1896), two influential art and social critics championed within conservation studies, Eugène Viollet le Duc (1814–1879), a French architect, and to some degree, Alois Riegl (1858–1905), an Austrian art-historian (Thompson 2006: 30). The preservation movement associated with Ruskin and Morris was itself a reaction against the restoration impulses of the nineteenth century (Thompson 1981: 18). Here, the aesthetic became irrevocably linked with notions of ‘honesty’ and ‘trustworthiness’ (Thompson 1981: 20), thereby paving the way for an interest in, and desire for, authenticity and historical *evidence*



(Schouten 1995: 21; Assi 2000). This sentiment is preserved in the National Trust Act of 1907, which establishes the purpose of the Trust as: “...*promoting the permanent preservation for the benefit of the nation of lands and tenements of beauty or historic interest*” (cited in Reynolds 2004a: 1 – see also Briggs 1952: 220f).

In his Manifesto proclaiming the interests and objectives of *The Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB)*, Morris stated:

*If...it be asked us to specify what kind of amount of art, style, or other interest in a building makes it worth protecting, we answer, anything which can be looked on as artistic, picturesque, historical, antique, or substantial: any work, in short, over which educated, artistic people would think it worth while to argue at all (Morris 1877).*

His statement reveals not only the privileging of artistic and aesthetic value; it also allowed for an acculturated middle-class, educated in high art and culture, to speak for the national collective (Redfield 2003: 3 – see also Lowenthal 1994; Johnson 1996: 554). A natural corollary is the privileging of a particular formulation of heritage. Indeed, it was the stately homes, churches and great estates that found prominence on the heritage agenda (Johnson 1996; Deckha 2004; Howard 2006; Smith 2006; Waterton *et al.* 2006), as they had become, in Cormack's (1976: 28 – see also Johnson 1996: 560) words, “...*a special public possession for it is in them [country houses] and in our churches that we perhaps come closest to the soul and spirit of England*”. Moreover, he also points out that “*The best tribute any of us can pay to departed glories is to fight to preserve those that remain*”, and that fight, he underscores, is a fight “...*for the nation*” (Cormack 1976: 13, 29). The assumption that national relevance derives from elite architecture presupposes, as Lowenthal (1992a: 159) points out, that “[*t*]he historic fabric belongs to the Great and the Good; heritage is the pastoral care of **gentlemen**” (emphasis in original). Here, the rather brutal simplification is obvious: the tangible manifestations of a prioritised class are equated with the nation, becoming fundamentally English. As Lowenthal (1985: 164 – see also Thompson 2006: 28) also observes, the aesthetic value was associated with Ruskin's ‘patina of age’, and the finding of “...‘*actual beauty*’ in the marks of age”. Indeed, as Ruskin ([1890] 1989: 186) himself, argued:

*For, indeed, the greatest glory of a building is not in its stones, nor in its gold. Its glory is in its Age, and in that deep sense of voicefulness of stern watching, of mysterious sympathy, nay, even of approval and condemnation, which we feel in walls that have long been washed by the passing waves of humanity.*

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An important consequence of this developing attention was the inherent appeal of elite heritage – because it presented the ‘right’ aesthetics, the ‘right’ age, the ‘right’ historical interest – as a corollary of national heritage.

### *A Sense of Patrimony and Expertise*

The work of Ruskin and Morris did more than emphasise the perceived importance of the aesthetic. In taking up nationalism and notions of an imagined community, both writers imparted a strong sense of English paternalism, permanence and patrimony:

*One of the justifications offered for the efforts of the heritage industry is that today has a responsibility to yesterday: to preserve it so that it may be handed on to tomorrow (Hewison 1987: 107).*

As Lowenthal (1998a: 67) points out, “*Past monuments are not ours to do whatever we like with, insisted Ruskin, but a sacred trust to hand on intact*”. Likewise, Morris (1889; see also Earl 2003) made the same plea for old buildings: “*They are not ...our property, to do as we like with. We are only trustees for those that come after us*”. Not only is the idea of patrimony and moral obligation touted in these passages, but so too is the primacy and permanence of the monument and ‘old’ building (see Lowenthal 1989: 1270). Both have endured within the AHD.<sup>3</sup> Indeed, monuments, as chief symbols of a civilised national identity, need to be “*...properly handed on to future citizens*” (Glendinning 2003: 362), and, as Christopher Green, the then Chief Executive of English Heritage remarked in 1996, “*...we have a duty to champion our heritage for the enjoyment of future generations*” (Green 1996: 1). Developing alongside the call for patrimony was a need for preservation, which brought with it a desire to protect the authentic, ‘old’ fabric from destruction, damage and/or demolition (Glendinning 2003: 362 – see also Lowenthal 1992b). Thus, in a careful mix of aesthetic value, authenticity and age, Ruskin and Morris helped to bring about a fascination with the *historicity* of buildings, in which the overall architectural or artistic quality, coupled with historical associations, offered the parameters for patrimony (Nassar 2003: 469). This sentiment was expressed by the founding of the National Trust, and remarks made by co-founder, Octavia Hill: “*[We] will save many a lovely view or old ruin or country house from destruction and for the everlasting delight of the people of these*

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<sup>3</sup> The desire to reject the possibility of *any* change to existing fabric in England was relaxed in the 1990s, with the introduction of class and building consents (Sharman 1996: 4).



*islands*" (cited in Reynolds 2004b: 3). Central to this discrete sense of patrimony was the assumption that the value of such monuments lay *within* its fabric: innate, immutable and universal. Importantly, this sense of "...*absolute intrinsic value*" (Brown 1912: 267) contributed to the developing idea of monuments as witnesses to human history (ICOMOS 1964; UNESCO 1972 – for a critique of this, see Choay 2001). As the apparent need to preserve, protect and pass on the 'past' to future generations increased, three consequences were generated.

First of all, ideas of inheritance and moral obligation saw the emergence of a management process that has systematically erased the relevance and legitimacy of present generations. Second, it prompted – and continues to sustain – an understanding of heritage as something that belongs to 'humankind', collectively, as a 'common heritage' (Lowenthal 1998a: 228; Prott 1998: 227; Meskell 2002b: 564f). This presents somewhat of a paradox, as the use and meaning of heritage in the present, *by* the present, is largely underplayed in favour of the nameless, faceless unborn of future generations (Carver 1996; see also Adorno 1981: 175, cited in Meskell 2002b: 571). In this sense, the multiplicity of values, meanings and experiences identified in the previous section are overlooked in a process that side-steps present generations, and allows the heritage 'expert' (in the guise of conservator, archaeologist, technical specialist etc.) to consistently assume and allocate exclusive priority to monumental and scientific values (McBryde 1995: 8). By declaring something a 'public', 'common' or 'universal' heritage, no access or control can be granted to other interest groups or stakeholders outside of expertise, as this would compromise an apparently democratic, liberal humanitarian and openly accessible corpus of heritage (Zimmerman 1998: 70; Carmen 1999: 6; Waterton 2005; Weiss 2005: 50; Butcher 2006; Smith 2007a). Amplified by the above two points is a third implication, which works to alienate non-experts from the decision-making process, and importantly, naturalise the privileged position of 'experts' within the management process. As Smith (2004) points out, with the mobilisation of this particular discourse, distinct groups and organisations subscribing to that discourse were afforded a sense of expertise and authority, and a privileged position in debates about 'the past', heritage and how both may be used (see also Smith 1994, 2001, 2006). As Weiss (2005: 50) argues, it is not only the 'expert' who is privileged:

*...one could proceed to point out how such heritage sites tend to effectively alienate those who feel their own daily activities and vernacular sense of*

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*heritage practice to be at a disconnect with the national experience conveyed by the heritage site.*

Influenced by an interest in progress and the origins of humankind developing out of Enlightenment thought came the arrival of 'proto-museums', private museums, cabinets of curiosity, and the elevation of museums to that of 'a public service' (Walsh 1992: 19–20). Inevitably a class-based experience, the development of museums was also an expression of nationalism, liberal education and cultural patrimony. Likewise, an interest in both amateur and professional archaeology developed, alongside a political instrumentalisation of the past. These new sources of knowledge, promulgated to deal with the emerging sense of heritage, required an associated collection of experts to mediate the growing divide between 'the public' and this newly acquired universal knowledge. Indeed, the increased scale of social and intellectual change prompted the growth of public trust in systems that took the form of abstracted and faceless committees (Giddens 1990; Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999). These developments precipitated the change in perception of material culture from something of limited interest into objects of real worth. The synchronicity of a need for 'experts', a re-ordering of knowledge that posited material remains as paramount and essential, in conjunction with nation-building ideology and the assemblage of artefacts and monuments demonstrative of national memory, was important.

#### *Formalising the AHD*

Linked with the emergence of various lobby groups and professionals, including the British Museum, the British Association for the Advancement of Science, the Society of Antiquaries and the British Archaeological Association (Murray 1989: 56), the recognition of monuments and tangible reminders of the past can be documented in the passing of a range of legislation. While heritage protection can be detailed as early as the fifteenth century in Europe (Cleere 1989b; Blake 2000: 61), the formal documentation of the authorised heritage discourse was achieved later, materialising in the writing, re-writing and implementation of a suite of national and international heritage policies, treatises, recommendations, charters, legislation and conventions. This began in the 1880s, but developed with serious vigour in the mid-twentieth century. Collectively, these texts confer the material authority of the 'monument', 'fabric' and 'aesthetic grandeur', along with the privileging of the rights of future generations. Nationally, for example,



such texts developed in England with the *Ancient Monuments Protection Act* of 1882, in America with the *Federal Antiquities* law of 1906, in Italy with the *Regolamento* of 1909, in Germany with the *Oldenburg Monuments Protection Law* of 1911, in France with the *Loi du 31 Decembre 1913 sur les Monuments Historiques* of 1913, and in Denmark with the first *Nature Conservation Act* of 1937 (Brown 1912; d'Agostino 1984: 73; Kristiansen 1984: 22; Reichstein 1984: 39; Cleere 1989b: 1; McManamon 1996). Internationally, the *Charter for the Restoration of Historic Monuments* (the Athens Charter) of 1931 (ICOMOS) was the earliest attempt to monitor and protect heritage. Those assumptions underpinning the Athens Charter later became embedded in a number of other texts, including the 1954 *Convention for the Protection of Cultural Property in the Event of Armed Conflict* (the Hague Convention), the *International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites* (the Venice Charter) of 1964 (ICOMOS) and the *Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Natural and Cultural Heritage* of 1972 (UNESCO) (see Blake 2000; Waterton *et al.* 2006). Some scholars (Haas 1992: 3) attribute this period to the emergence of governmental agencies, analysts and experts, as well as “secondary policy institutes” (Hajer 1995: 96). In order to deal with the increasing complexity of issues, governments summoned these communities of experts or specialists to help resolve a myriad of issues, allowing such communities to settle into a comfortable role in the creation and maintenance of policy (Fischer 2003b: 33). This is illustrated in the communities of expertise at the international level, who have worked to “...transmit and maintain beliefs about the verity and applicability of particular forms of knowledge” (Fischer 2003a: 33). Through these texts, the roles of archaeology, architecture and art history were cemented as the appropriate ‘expert’ bodies, or authorities, deemed capable of distinguishing those sites, monuments and buildings worthy of protection and transmission to future generations. Collectively, the texts began, and continue to, pare and shape the discourses arbitrating heritage management and conservation, naturalising a hegemonic and distinct sense of heritage. Of these, the Venice Charter (ICOMOS 1964) is particularly relevant, as it continues to be a primary document, providing the basis of many succeeding international documents and charters, including the World Heritage Convention (UNESCO 1972) and the Burra Charter (Australia ICOMOS 1999), which its own origins lie in England’s *Ancient Monuments Act* of 1882, the SPAB Manifesto of 1877 and the Athens Charter of 1931 (ICOMOS 1931; see also Salmond 2000: 50; Allom 2001: 26; Earl 2003: 62).

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Overall, the point of this section has been to map the development and parameters of the Authorised Heritage Discourse. Admittedly, the characterisation offered is somewhat essentialised, but it offers the bones upon which to flesh out a more nuanced and complex understanding of the AHD within proceeding chapters. An important consequence of this timeframe, as Macdonald (2005a: 283) points out, is the upholding of physical, material remains as those ‘bits’ assumed worthy, and capable, of connoting ‘fact’. Indeed, this period is characterised by nothing short of the fetishisation of materiality and an overpowering belief in the cultural value of objects. Like works of art, the ‘great’ examples of ‘heritage’ came to be imagined as “... *sealed books to the full majority of men, inaccessible to them, separated from them by a wide gulf, just as the society of princes is inaccessible to the common people*” (Schopenhauer, cited in Carey 2005: xii). It was this propensity towards tangibility, I have argued, that allowed the AHD to become hidden and sustained within ideas of pastoral care and moral responsibilities, undertaken on behalf of both future generations and “...*the sake of the nation*” (Whiteley 1995: 222).

### **THE “FIRST HERITAGE STATE”:<sup>4</sup> THE HERITAGE INDUSTRY AND BEYOND**

This section examines the third and fourth areas of debate introduced at the start of this chapter, and places particular emphasis on the heritage industry critiques advanced by the polemical works of historians Patrick Wright (1985) and Robert Hewison (1987). This critique is also associated with Kevin Walsh (1992) and Raphael Samuel (1994), and has been reproduced in a number of historical, archaeological and heritage-related books and articles (cf. Wickham-Jones 1988; Branigan 1989; Tilley 1989; Hodder 1990; Fowler 1992; Whiteley 1995; McGuigan 1996; Robb 1998; Smith 2007a,b). Reviewing this literature is useful for two reasons: first, it presents a very prominent reaction to, or warning of, a number of characteristics intrinsic to the AHD; and, second, it reveals the tenacity of the AHD, implicit within the final renderings of the heritage industry critique.

While this section charts the central critiques emerging from the heritage industry debates, it is also – admittedly only on a superficial level – a reflection

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<sup>4</sup> ‘Britain is the first heritage state’ – Deyan Sudjic (1994).



of the effects cultural policy priorities have had on heritage debates. As such, it also offers an implicit examination and critique of the Thatcher years, and to some degree New Labour, although the latter will be picked up with more rigour in later chapters. The correlation of Thatcherism with critiques of the heritage industry is well documented in the heritage literature (Wright 1985; Tilley 1989; Walsh 1992; Barthel 1996; Samuel 1994; Taylor 1997; Lowenthal 1998a; Boswell 1999: 112; Evans 1999: 3–4; Strangleman 1999; Pendlebury 2000; Meethan 2001: 104; Littler 2005), as is the remarkable popularity and concern for the past associated with the late 1970s and 1980s (Walsh 1992; Fischer 1995; Barthel 1996; McGuigan 1996; Boswell 1999; Graham *et al* 2000; Carmen 2002; Deckha 2004; Littler and Naidoo 2004; Lumley 2005). The drawing of the two together should not be considered a serendipitous accident: indeed, the polemic of Wright, Hewison and Walsh was not so much a slighting of heritage; it was a reaction against the “...*political project of Thatcherism*” (Hall 1988: 1).

Thatcherism initiated a range of different, and sometimes contradictory, social, cultural and economic strategies, which for many were seen to revolve around the key concepts of ‘enterprise’ and ‘heritage’ (Hall 1988: 274; Corner and Harvey 1991a,b; Schwarz 1991; Littler 2005: 4). This reorientation targeted a need for an *enterprise culture*, which was fuelled by strong, interconnected agendas of consumerism, commodification, individualism and patriotism, underpinned by a desire to promote international economic competitiveness (Abercrombie *et al.* 2000: 436). The character of this government identified with liberalism, deregulation, privatisation, marketisation, internationalism and tax cuts (Abercrombie *et al.* 2000: 436). Combined, the concepts of individualism, internationalism and patriotism offered up a strange disjuncture for heritage management. On the one hand, attempts were made to sponsor a new sense of value within society, while on the other, and at the same time, emphasis was placed upon tradition and continuity. Radical reform and the promotion of a regenerated economy were being pitted against a conservative obsession with the past. Here, nineteenth-century liberalism and the pursuit of free trade ran riot, according to McGuigan (1996: 119), alongside a lip service espousing the virtues of the ‘historical nation’. Hall (1988: 2 – see also McGuigan 1996: 119; Sepúlveda dos Santos 2003) argued that it became a project of ‘regressive modernization’ – an attempt to ‘educate’ and ‘discipline’ society by “...*dragging it backwards through an equally regressive version of the past*”. In this ironic coupling, the popularised and

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innovative sovereignty of the individual consumer was compromised by a reactionary nostalgia reflecting upon a common, traditional and shared inheritance (Corner and Harvey 1991a: 11; Shanks and Tilley 1992: 258; Walsh 1992: 76). In short, it was the mobilisation of “...*free wills exercising free choice in the market of history*” (Shanks and Tilley 1992: 258).

### *The Heritage Industry Critique*

The heritage critiques of the 1980s were part of a wider trigger for “...*one of the major aesthetic and social movements of our time*” (Samuel 1994: 25). Leading the charge against ‘heritage’ in England were historians Patrick Wright and Robert Hewison, and their respective publications *On Living in an Old Country* (1985) and *The Heritage Industry: Britain in a Climate of Decline* (1987). Both texts have a pervasive presence in the heritage literature. Wright and Hewison, in reacting against the ‘engulfing’ of England by ‘the heritage industry’, began what was to become an influential attack. As defined by Hewison (1987: 139), the heritage industry is:

*...a set of imprisoning walls upon which we project a superficial image of a false past, simultaneously turning our backs on the reality of history, and incapable of moving forward because of the absorbing fantasy before us.*

As Lumley (2005: 19) points out, the heritage industry critique was a response to the growing popularity of heritage, materialising in the form of a “*marked boom*” (Walsh 1992: i) in the commercialisation of the past, a “...*growth in the cult of the country house*” (Mellor 1991: 97) and an increase in National Trust membership (Barthel 1996; McGuigan 1996: 122). These, and other instances, triggered the often heard quips: “...*a museum was opening every fortnight*” (cf. Mellor 1991: 97; Hewison 1987: 9; Dicks 2000: 35; Urry 1990: 94; Deckha 2004: 407; Shanks 2004: 155), “...*a tabloid history*” (Crang 1996: 2), “*museum society*” (Lumley 2005: 15), the “*disneyfication*” or “*McDonaldization*” of heritage (Smith 2006 – see also Lowenthal 1985: xv; Samuel 1994: 259; McIntosh and Prentice 1999: 593), and “...*Britain has been turned into one big theme park*” or “*gigantic museum*” (Barker 1996: 53; Paulin, cited in Lammy 2006b: 67 – see also Wright 1985; Samuel 1994: 260). The responses of those scholars leading the heritage debates was quick, critical and disparaging, drawing attention to the perceived superficiality of heritage (Wright 1985; Hewison 1987), the production of a surface ‘historicality’ (Crang 1996) and a general disappointment in Britain’s apparent cultural decline (Lumley 2005).



While immediately a backlash against the popularisation of 'heritage', the debates were also critical of its elitist nature, with attempts to 'recover' a lost, bucolic and authentic England attributed with privileging "...*the edifices and cultural symbols of the powerful*" (Wright 1985: 78). If the aim, as Walsh (1992: 77) points out, was to forgo the "Old England" of the working class, that aim was simultaneously an attempt to protect and promote the notions of heritage "...*that belonged to the ruling class and the legitimate nation*". Wright's construction of 'Deep England', the archetypal English landscape (Baxendale 2001: 93 – see also Corner and Harvey 1991b: 52; McGuigan 1996: 123), as something of a communion, is also a commentary on the falsity of the images of England privileged within the heritage industry. He remarks that to become:

*...a communicant of [this] essentially incommunicable deep nation ... one must have had the essential experience, and one must have had it in the past to the extent that the meaningful ceremonies of Deep England are above all ceremonies of remembrance and recollection (Wright 1985: 85).*

Baxendale (2001: 93) reinforces this point, and more explicitly cites class-based experiences as a means for exclusion:

*Since the personal experience of 'Deep England' is vouchsafed to only a few, and most of the English can only share in it by proxy or as despised day-trippers, the myth of Deep England allows a small and privileged class to control an important segment of the national imagination.*

On one level, this was evidence of the colonisation of the past by a deep sense of nostalgia, 'retreatism' or escapism (Hewison 1987: 43; McGuigan 1996: 118; Olick and Robbins 1998: 125; Grainge 1999: 623; Dicks 2000b: 62; Smith 2006: 41; Raivo n.d.: 9). On the other hand, however, as Corner and Harvey (1991: 52 – see also Smith 2006) point out, not only was there something 'aristocratic' about such appeals to the aesthetic allure of the past, these imaginings inevitably conjured up the metaphoric powers of the country house: wealth, family and tradition. As Crang (1996: 2) goes on to argue, it is this coupling of assumed aesthetic charms with a superficial image of the past that works to naturalise and sustain the "...*the pastoral myth of the British past*", materially resulting in "...*the disproportionately large percentage of resources devoted to preserving country and manor houses*". Implicitly tied up in this criticism of a class-based heritage is a reaction to the desire to present a past that is 'safe' and sanitised, shorn, as Urry (1996: 52

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– see also 1990: 99) points out “...*of danger, subversion and seduction*”. The apparent ‘safeness’ was criticised alongside its construction as ‘timeless’ and ‘monumentalised’, “... *frozen solid, closed down and limited to what can be exhibited as a fully accomplished ‘historical past’*” (Wright 1985: 78). What they are reacting to, in part, are the parameters of the AHD and its discursive attempts to domesticate and naturalise the past and render it “... *rescued, removed, rebuilt, restored and rearranged*” (Hewison 1987: 137). Wright and Hewison harness this negative view of an elitist heritage to the ability of particular institutions of culture to preserve the exclusive rights to “...*articulate the only acceptable meanings of past and present*” (Hewison 1987: 144 – see also Samuel 1994: 265).

Inherent within the heritage industry critiques is a palpable reaction to Thatcherite drives towards making history a commodity, or “... *making history a selling point*” (Samuel 1994: 266 – see also Lumley 1988: Wright 1985; Hewison 1987; Walsh 1992; Smith 1994: 303; McGuigan 1996; Sepúlveda dos Santos 2003: 28; Symonds 2004: 33). The strange disjuncture of Thatcherite politics is again implicitly present here, as McGuigan (1996: 120) points out, with emphasis placed upon the nostalgic ‘greatness’ of the past acting as a mechanism for forgetting “... *how miserable were the material conditions of most Britons at the height of empire*”. The real drive behind arguments of commercialisation, however, reverts back to concerns for the gigantic heritage-experience theme parks filling the country, reminiscent of the ‘Englandland’ (Urry 1990: 100) conjured up by Julian Barnes’ satirical *England, England*. These concerns underpinned almost entirely the responses offered by Wright and Hewison, who saw the rapid replacement of ‘real’ heritage experiences by manufactured, inauthentic and trivialising leisure facilities as a foregone conclusion of Thatcherite economics (McGuigan 1996: 122).

### *A Critique of the Critique*

While there are undoubtedly strengths to the heritage industry critique, namely its criticisms of a ‘heritage’ constructed around themes of ‘safeness’ and ‘timelessness’, there are also some inherent weaknesses – weaknesses that for this thesis offer a number of useful contributions to the development of the AHD. To begin, the heritage-baiters, as Raphael Samuel (1994: 265) refers to Wright and Hewison, were themselves both conservative and elitist. Moreover, as Smith (2006: 42) points out, although they were reacting in many ways to the AHD,



they were also drawing on a handful of core assumptions that continue to share conceptual ground with the AHD. There are three particular points I want to raise here in order to illustrate the ways in which these debates continued to operate *within* the parameters of the AHD. Of these points, I first want to underscore and question the characterisation of heritage as a negative and reactionary experience with 'nostalgia'.

As a number of more recent scholars point out, to assume that heritage is little more than an exercise in idealising nostalgia overlooks the more complex ways with which the past is engaged with in the present (Frow 1991: 134; Johnson 1996: 552; Dicks 2000a: 47; Goulding 2001: 566). This fetishism with nostalgia characterises the 'act' of heritage, or heritagizing, as something tied up with 'the past', rather than explicitly acknowledging the relationship heritage has with 'the present'. In short, it becomes something akin to a pathological disorder. Using the pathology of nostalgia to make sense of the relationship between the critiques of the heritage industry and *the* crisis of postmodernity (dislocation and rootlessness) has a number of consequences, as Harvey (2001: 325) points out: first, the disappointing and malign product of the 'heritage industry' is seen as characteristic of a distinctly postmodern society. Second, this precise "... *line of temporal closure*" allows prior 'heritage' to be remembered as trustworthy, authentic and 'correct' (2001: 325). And third, as Harvey (2001: 326) points out:

... *[i]n this sense, the heritage industry is portrayed as a sort of parasite, exploiting the more genuine and 'ageless' memorial (and largely oral) relationships with the past that people had before the 19<sup>th</sup> century.*

Through drawing on 'nostalgia' as an explanatory concept, a distinct line is established between an idealised past and a dubious present.

A second problematic emerging from these debates is the assumption that heritage 'visitors' or 'users' are precluded from any real sense of engagement that deviates from received and 'authorised' messages. The consumption practices that frame this critique verge on the 'mindless', based as they are on the suggestion of inculcation and unquestioned communication (Strangleman 1999: 727; Dicks 2000b: 63; Mason 2002; Macdonald 2005a,b). This overlooks the flexibility and ability – indeed, the *desire* – of what the tourism literature identifies as the '*mindful*' or '*insightful*' tourist (Moscardo 1996; McIntosh 1999;

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McIntosh and Prentice 1999; Christie and Mason; Poria *et al.* 2004, 2006) to question, test, reflect, accept or reject their heritage experiences. Instead, the heritage 'visitor' is assumed to have accepted, naïvely and simplistically, the nostalgic representations and re-enactments set before them, a notion that fails entirely to capture the more nuanced experiences of audiences and heritage users (Abercrombie and Longhurst 1998; Aitchison 1999: 63; Bagnall 2003: 94). Indeed, as Smith (2006: 43) points out, "[t]he very use of the term 'visitor' also facilitates the construction of passivity and disconnection."

Woven into the conceptualisations of 'heritage' within the heritage industry is the idea of authenticity, which is the third issue I want to unpack here. The notion of 'bogus history' (Hewison 1987: 44) or, to borrow from MacCannell (1999), 'staged authenticity', implies that the nature of 'heritage' is malleable, corruptible and fraudulent (Macdonald 2005a: 273). In contrast to this is the drive for originality, integrity and genuineness (McBryde 1997: 94), something in opposition to the commodified theme parks offered by the heritage industry. For Hewison, authenticity presents a way out of this understanding of history. Through this genre of critique, authenticity becomes something of a fine line, with heritage assumed to fall on one side of the line or the other. Heritage located on the 'right' side of the line is legitimised by an essentialised notion of authenticity (Cohen-Hattab and Kerber 2004: 60), with all heritage falling to the 'wrong' side labelled 'bogus'. This is, of course, based upon the assumption that there *is* an either/or. Heritage is *either* bogus or true, inauthentic or authentic, malleable or fixed in meaning, based on the impression that there is *a right* way to perceive the past amongst many competing, but ultimately wrong, ways to think about the past. It is based, moreover, on the foundations of the AHD. These criticisms of the heritage industry, levelled at the idea of a 'bogus' history, or something that is inauthentic, deficient in 'fact' or 'truth', simplistic and, of course, conservative nostalgia (Dicks 2003: 32), miss the point, and should perhaps focus not so much on authenticity, but empowerment and identity (Crouch 1990: 13). To focus on a static notion of authenticity, and lament the 'mindless' tourist, is to underestimate the self-consciousness and flexibility of heritage users as they pick their way through "...the ideologically infused possibilities" of many heritage places (Cohen-Hattab and Kerber 2004: 61).



The heritage industry debates reviewed in this section have been remarkably influential within heritage policy in England, although the critique has not been imported wholesale. Perhaps the most obvious point of reference most visible in contemporary policy frameworks is the distrust of a 'bogus' and malleable, or malign, nature of 'heritage'. Indeed, it is difficult to overstate quite how pervasive this conceptualisation of 'heritage' has been in public policy, a point epitomised by formal attempts to change the label 'heritage' to 'historic environment'. The exposure of heritage achieved by Hewison and Wright revealed, for many critics, a rotten and fraudulent core associated with fundamentally right-wing politics (Symonds 2004: 33). While attempts to distance the world of 'heritage' from its label began in the 1970s, the rebranding of heritage – a core issue for this thesis – as 'the historic environment' only achieved regularity in the late 1990s (for more detail, see Chapters 5, 6 and 7). The shift from 'heritage' to 'historic environment' was thus a gradual one, within which the two concepts enjoyed a significant period of overlap.

While the critiques of the heritage industry were an important trigger, the transition more or less spanned the entirety of the 1990s, and has not yet achieved closure (see, for example, Carter 1995; Sharman 1996; G. Fairclough 1997: 16–17; Alexander 1999: 1; Morris 2000: 2). Morris (2000: 2–3) observes that 'the historic environment' emerged at a time when 'heritage' was being vilified for forgetting what it was to be 'British' or 'English'. From this point onwards, the term 'historic environment' was adopted aggressively by English Heritage, operating under the New Labour government, and materialised in policy, beginning with *PPG15 – Planning and the Historic Environment* (DoE 1994), and again, with the *Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment* (1999–2001) (considered in Chapter 7 – see also articles in English Heritage's *Conservation Bulletin*,<sup>5</sup> for example, Barnwell and Giles 2000: 4–7; Cherry 2001: 8–11). As Symonds (2004: 34) observes:

*In this new manifestation it is no longer a source for an atavistic and sentimentalised form of comfort and nationalistic pride but, rather, serves as a mechanism for advancing contemporary cultural creativity and self-awareness.*

<sup>5</sup> The *Conservation Bulletin* itself introduced the adage 'A bulletin of the historic environment' with the March addition (Issue 42) in 2002.

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In this reflection Symonds fails not only to critically interrogate the consequences of this rebranding of 'heritage', but also leaves unclear the precise changes implicated. What is interesting is that both 'heritage' and 'the historic environment' continued links with nationalism and national identity, yet with this lexical slight of hand, 'heritage', characterised as "... *prim, static ... [something] which would appeal to the casual tourist but not to anyone seriously interested in past realities...*" (Symonds 2004: 34), could be discounted and replaced by a seemingly 'holistic' approach fostered by 'the historic environment'. The issue of precisely what precipitated the change in name will be explored further in later chapters.

### *Social Inclusion?*

The final area of debate I want to examine is the renewed interest in 'heritage' sponsored by issues of social inclusion. The aims of this section are, first, to very briefly examine the framing of social inclusion found within the heritage sector and, second, to illustrate the ways in which it is commonly viewed and understood. This overview will be used to inform the remainder of this thesis and justify the argument I intend to develop concerning the use of 'social inclusion' as an assimilatory technique of the AHD.

While an interest in social inclusion/exclusion has certainly been prevalent in the policy sphere and across a range of wider literature examining policy responses (for general commentaries on social inclusion, see Percy-Smith 2000a,b; Collins 2002; Hills *et al.* 2002; Sandell 2002; Levitas 2004, 2005; David Byrne 2005 – for more specific studies, see also Watt and Jacob 2000; Archer *et al.* 2002; Simmons 2003; Roberts 2004; Jaeger and Bowman 2005; Tett 2006), it has been surprisingly circumspect in the area of Heritage Studies (with the exception of Newman and McLean 1998, 2004a; Young 2002; Pendlebury *et al.* 2004; Littler and Naidoo 2005; Agyeman 2006; Smith 2006), although more forthcoming in terms of museum studies (cf. Appleton 2001; Dodd and Sandell 2001; Flemming 2002; Sandell 2003; Mason 2004a,b, 2005). Indeed, social exclusion/inclusion across the face of public policy in the United Kingdom has developed piecemeal. Where it does feature in the heritage literature, the views expressed tend to be polarised, as Mason (2004a: 49) has pointed out. Indeed, the union of heritage and social inclusion is either characterised as "... *patronising and misguided*" (Mason 2004a: 49; see also Appleton 2001) or democratising and empowering (DCMS 2000b: 8; Mason 2004a: 50), and this disjuncture is itself problematic. Indeed, it



is symptomatic of the fact that little empirical research to date has been conducted that explicitly and rigorously examines the relationships linking heritage and social inclusion (Newman and McLean 2004a: 5). An important implication of this oversight is that the processes through which a person supposedly becomes 'included' are *assumed*, rather than properly understood and enacted (Newman and McLean 2004a). Yet despite this uncertainty within the academy, the influence of social inclusion/exclusion has not been truncated in policy or practice, both areas of which have seen a flurry of activities focused upon 'complying' with issues of inclusion. This is observable in the arrival of projects such as *Black History Month*, the *Upstairs/Downstairs* projects of country houses, *Hidden Histories*, a wealth of interest in instigating community heritage projects, the *Blue Plaque Schemes* (English Heritage 2003f), *Making Histories* (Tyne and Wear Museums 2000, cited in Mason 2004a) and the introduction of *Heritage Open Days*, for example (cf. Newman and McLean 1998; Start 1999; Young 2002; English Heritage 2003f). The striking similarity of the philosophy underpinning these projects is perhaps a symptom of the recent arrival of social inclusion/exclusion on the policy agenda, which has as yet tended to focus upon issues of access, increasing visitor numbers, understanding motivations for visiting, and finding 'a place' for marginalised groups within the interpretation and information utilised at heritage sites (cf. Cowell 2004; Mason 2004a, 2005; Whitehead 2005; Phillips 2006). Indeed, as Newman (2005b: 327, see also Sandell 2003: 47) points out, for many, social inclusion draws all too many similarities with "... *access and audience development*". Subsequently, what these projects have in common is a desire to *reveal and measure*, rather than *establish*, the social value of 'heritage'.

Another important point to note about the development of social inclusion is the insidious legacy it draws from the formation and development of the AHD in the eighteenth, nineteenth and early twentieth centuries (as detailed in the above section), and the desire to cultivate and/or improve a 'good' and 'educated' society through culture. This sense of 'improvement' through culture permeates much of the literature associated with social inclusion (cf. DCMS 1999a,b, 2002a,c; Newman 2005a), and as Sandell (2003: 45) points out, posits 'social inclusion' policies as mechanisms that might better be conceived of as instruments of social reform. The overall movement towards an agenda of inclusion/exclusion has also drawn from wider moves towards the recognition of

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multiculturalism, cultural diversity and plurality on an international scale (Colley 1999; Arizpe 2000; Mason 2004a: 61 – see also Ashworth 1998; Modood 1998; UNESCO 1998; Murphy 1999; Parekh 2000a,b; B. Graham 2002; Newman and McLean 2004a; Naidoo 2005). This has been coupled with a number of highly visible political events, such as devolution in Scotland and Wales (Mason 2004a: 61), a polemically charged crisis over the influx of asylum-seekers, debates regarding tolerance, attempts to reconsider what is meant by *Britishness* (Cohen 1994; Langlands 1999), attempts at striking “...*the right balance between integration and diversity*” (Blair 2006), concepts of citizenship, and, indeed, as rehearsed in recent publicity surrounding reality television programme *Celebrity Big Brother*, issues of racism and ‘tolerance’. In this milieu, particular discourses are called upon to make sense of changing social contexts, and can, as Joseph and Roberts (2004: 4) point out, entail ‘epistemological distortion’, which works to favour certain social groups. Joseph and Roberts (2004: 4–5) characterise ‘asylum-seekers’ as one such distortion against which discourses of national identity are rendered, thereby contributing to a wider discourse of inclusion drawn upon to distort the already tangible gap between social classes. As a consequence of this background, social inclusion has also come to share a remarkable amount of conceptual space with notions of multiculturalism. While these may at first appear to be two separate events – the development of the AHD and the political advent of multiculturalism – a subtle, discursive relationship is evident between the two in the emerging heritage literature and the framing of social inclusion. Indeed, as Sandell (2003: 47) notes, social inclusion is:

... *perceived as another term to describe the need to engage with, and attract, those audiences that have traditionally been underrepresented ...*

Those groups underrepresented have tended to be considered ethnic minority groups (cf. DCMS 2001a,b). This is an important point to note, as it is a union often drawn upon to legitimise the notion that it is the ‘ethnic minorities’ or the ‘culturally diverse’, both of which translate to mean ‘different from the White middle-classes’, that require the proactive attention of heritage professionals to foster inclusion. It therefore translates more readily into a conceptualisation of the ‘deviant other’ and their propensity to exclude themselves from the ‘normal majority’ (Evans and Harris 2004: 70). In this guise, social inclusion is constructed as something very closely aligned with citizenship and the “... *integrative experience of solidarity*” (Evans and Harris 2004: 71), which in more



extreme forms transpires as subtle social engineering. This is an argument alluded to by Grainge (1999), who draws attention to the recurrence of the idea of identity, a discursive attribute that heads most heritage discussions and debates today (cf. O'Connor 1993; Lowenthal 1994; Gruffudd 1995; Light and Dumraveanu-Andone 1997; McLean 1998; de Gorges Risnicoff 1999; Palmer 1999; Boniface 2000; Henderson 2001a,b; Kenworthy Teather 2003; Roussin 2003; McManus 2005; O'Keefe 2005; McLean 2006; McLean and Newman 2006). For Grainge (1999: 623), who cites Joan Wallach Scott's conceptualisation of the 'fetishizing of tradition', the complexity of past formations of heritage and, indeed, the continued need to rehearse those past formations, may reveal an attempt to both mobilise and privilege the assumed legitimacy of a homogenous national identity *against* recent calls for social inclusion, multiculturalism and diversity. In short, he suggests that the continued survival of a defence of, and nostalgia for, 'traditions' and authenticity may well be part of a wider defensive move towards reclaiming a singular national past. Within this conceptual space, the AHD is able to mask its ideological underpinnings and utilise the tropes of 'diversity' and 'integration' to realign inclusion policies around targeting specific, underrepresented social groups (cf. Nicholson 1988; Perks 1988; Gard'ner 2004; Pendergast n.d.). Importantly, this realignment occurs without first examining the notion of 'heritage' privileged by the AHD. As Hall (1994) points out, it thus becomes a process that is inevitably destructive and exclusionary. Moreover, it is *actively encouraging* the disinheritance of those aspects and experiences of 'heritage' associated with 'the marginalised' (see Caffyn and Lutz 1999; Ashworth 2002).

In a policy sense, social inclusion/exclusion is explicitly associated with the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit in August 1997 by the then recently elected New Labour government (Mason 2004a: 52; for further detail, see Chapter 6). Central documents discussing the project of inclusion within the heritage sector are both authored by DCMS in response to a remit put together by PAT 10 in 1999, *Policy Action Team 10: Response to Social Exclusion (1999a)* and *Progress Report on Social Inclusion (2001b)*, which makes the following statement:

*If having nowhere to go and nothing constructive to do is as much a part of living in a distressed community as poor housing or high crime levels, culture and sport provide a good part of the answer to rebuilding a decent quality of life there. Such communities have not had their fair share in the past (DCMS 200b: 4).*

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Despite the complexity of issues surrounding the development of this document, the notion of social inclusion was slimmed down to a fairly straightforward formulation of the problem. The excluded have “... *nothing constructive to do*”, and encouragement to participate in ‘sound’ cultural and/or sporting activities will go some way towards alleviating the problem. This is itself a passive conceptualisation of the problem, in which the power of social and civil rights are obscured – indeed, *deferred* – in favour of the discretionary judgments of outside, professional opinion. As Evans and Harris (2004: 71) go on to argue:

*The corollary was that citizens as ‘beneficiaries’ of professional expertise, were subordinated to professional authority in what were seen as their own best interests...*

The assumptions underpinning this policy progress report are evidenced in the heritage literature, which displays a significant lack of critical engagement with the underlying ideological implications of social inclusion. As Cowell (2004: 33) points out:

*One driver for recent research into broadening access and inclusion in the historic environment has been the introduction by the DCMS of a Public Service Agreement (PSA) target for the heritage sector to attract (and therefore measure) 100,000 new users of the historic environment from priority groups by 2005/2006.*

The point Cowell (2004) makes, in conjunction with the sentiments expressed by DCMS above, offer explanation as to the propensity of ‘heritage’ research to form around issues of access and participation. Here, research progressing in close allegiance with the dominant policy direction is therefore naturally taking up a specific interest in inclusion in terms of *outcomes*.

Indeed, even the more theoretically robust research continues to consider what people may *get out of* ‘heritage’, in terms of cultural, human, identity or social capital (Jeannotte 2003; Newman 2005a,b; Newman and Whitehead 2006, 2007), education (Scott 2002), wellbeing (Silverman 2002) and identity (Newman and McLean 2006; Newman 2005a). What this focus fails to do, however, is take account of what ‘the marginalised’ are being invited to ‘access’ or ‘participate’ in. Instead, inclusion is relegated, as Corsane (2005: 8 and 10) illustrates, to those “... *issues relating to heritage outputs*”, how ‘heritage’ is perceived, or “... *the development of new audiences*” (Sandell 2003: 47). The way heritage is understood



continues to be framed by the AHD, and the overall project of 'social inclusion' is to encourage 'the marginalised' to view 'heritage', and thus its relevance, through the parameters of the AHD already accepted in a policy sense. The process of inclusion is thus conceived of in three parts: the established 'heritage'; those with the cultural 'gaze' (Urry 1990) necessary to *see* and *appreciated* that 'heritage'; and those who need to be educated and cajoled into the fold. Within these divisions, a hegemonic sense of 'heritage' is brokered and sustained in line with dominant class interests, which are re-imagined as consensual interests available to all. Indeed, it is selective. These divisions have tended to be replayed both in policy, practice and research terms, which for the large part remain oblivious to the social competencies required to 'appropriately' read, perform and consume a particular sense of 'heritage' (Murdoe 2005: 197). Moreover, those who fall outside of the selective grouping, which has already acquired the appropriate cultural 'gaze', are re-characterised as 'the have nots'. The assumption is that they will not have white skin, they will not enjoy economic security and they will not have good health (Jones 2005: 95 – see also Young 2002; Littler 2005: 11). As Jones (2005: 95, citing Hall 2000: 221) goes on to argue:

*The result of these combined strategies is that a core underlying homogenous national heritage is maintained ... 'the norm against which "difference" ... is measured'.*

As Young (2002), Littler (2005) and Smith (2006) suggest, this emphasis on inclusion actually skates considerably closer to assimilation than it does anything else: it simply says "*Come and be like us*" (Young 2002: 211). Caffyn and Lutz (1999: 218) make a similar point in drawing attention to the extent to which 'the marginalised' may be indifferent or antagonistic towards traditional or dominant conceptualisations of 'heritage'. As such, the point Jones is making above is an important one for this thesis, as it draws us once again towards the critical notions of power and discourse, concepts inevitably missed within the literature dealing with social inclusion. The inferences Jones (2005) makes are thus as much to do with the unconscious opacity of discourse as they to do with social inclusion itself. This is a point missed by Young (2002: 209), when she laments:

*Failure to act upon the issues raised by these critiques leads to a loss of credibility and of the authority that organisations and individuals seek to retain.*

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Indeed, I do not think that it *does* risk losing credibility and authority; certainly not in the short term. Likewise, Pendergast (n.d.: 3) expresses a similar sentiment in the following statement:

*... what safeguards can we put in place to ensure that there really is representativeness among target groups, that we do not impose cultural values on others, and most importantly, that any decisions made on whether or not to participate is actually made from a position of informal choice and not simply ignorance of opportunity?*

What is missed by both statements is an emphasis on the implicit ideological work done by discourse. Social inclusion, in many ways, is a response that is entirely sustained by the AHD, and for that reason alone, will enjoy considerably more time in the spotlight. This is a point reinforced by Mordue (2005: 181), who, when discussing the practices of tourism, remarked that the right to engage with, and experience, an aspect of ‘heritage’ is itself a practice that is inherently socially contested, indirect and mediated. Simply ‘opening the doors’ fails to acknowledge the ‘hidden power’, or ‘hidden agenda’, of discourse, utilised to sustain subject positionings and practices, or, as Fairclough (1989: 40) argues, maintain: “... *the reproduction of class relations and other higher-level social structures*”.

Overall, the central theme emerging from this overview of heritage literature dealing with social inclusion is the overwhelming emphasis placed upon the apparent need to develop new audiences and encourage marginalised groups to participate and engage with a distinct sense of heritage. The messages implicit within this approach, and the power issues that have brokered and sustained it are seldom examined, leaving the trajectory of social inclusion to continue along assimilatory lines.

## CONCLUSION

The overall aim of this chapter has been to develop a sense of the debates that surround ‘heritage’ so as to situate the relevance of this research. Principally, this thesis will argue that the ways in which we think, talk and write about ‘heritage’ *matters*, and as such, it is necessary from the outset to illustrate the ways in which ‘heritage’ is discursively established in the heritage literature. This will then be utilised to examine the salience and power of particular understandings of ‘heritage’ as they emerge in the proceeding chapters. To do this, this chapter examined four key areas of debate: ‘heritage’ as a cultural process; the



development of the AHD; the so-called 'heritage industry'; and the unification of 'heritage' and social inclusion.

In this chapter, the emergence of a distinct discourse of heritage was mapped through the heritage literature, which saw a lobbying for the legislation and preservation of a nationalised, materialistic and aestheticised sense of heritage, saved for future generations. Through what proved to be a complicated gestation, the AHD developed to combine the philosophies of the Enlightenment, Romanticism and Nationalism, materialising in a currency recognisable on both national and international scales. Influenced by the tastes and preferences of a prioritised class, this discourse graduated towards the 'grand', the 'good', the 'desirable' and the 'monumental', guided by a belief in aesthetics and historical content. Manipulated by the inflexibility of rationality and truth, this discourse established firm links with expertise, particular the knowledge associated with archaeology, art history and architectural conservation. Simultaneously, it gave rise to the idea of universal heritage and common rights of access, and championed a heritage preserved and conserved for the benefit of future generations. With these parameters set in place, heritage management became focussed on the fabric, the materiality and tangibility of sites, monuments and buildings. People were ostracised, obscured by a discourse fixated by 'things' and 'objects'.

An important consequence of this characterisation of 'heritage' is the separation of past, present and future, in which the present has become strangely isolated from the process of management, outside of expertise. This process of separation occurs not only at the hands of patrimony and the privileging of future generations, but also as a response to the immortalisation of heritage, and its elevation to something that is 'special', 'great' and 'good'. Indeed, beyond that, it is raised as something that presents a definitive impression of 'pastness' (Crang 1996: 2). Once formally recognised as heritage, a sense of permanence and continuity is evoked, which likewise works to heighten the sense of removal from present, daily life and use. 'Heritage', in these debates, became something that is "*... frozen in time for future contemplation*" (Macdonald 2002: 92 – see also Emerick 2003). This, I argued, removed any opportunity for change and continual engagement with an act, place, experience or object of heritage. The presence of a strong sense of nationalism was also revealed in the literature, which was most

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often associated with monumentality and the assumed ability of monuments to speak for and about the nation. However, as Billig (1995) points out, this is the wrong place to look for identity, in these monumental occasions, crises or moments of national fanfare. Rather, it appears and re-appears, "*bobbing about*" (Billig 1995: 8) on ordinary days, through the formulation and transmission of the 'banal' in so many little ways: in the familiar.

The downplaying of 'everyday' heritage and its situation in the present was further marginalised by the heritage industry critique, and the arrival of concepts such as 'bogus' history, and attendant taunts of the disneyfication, commodification and popularisation of the past through re-enactments, live interpretations, edutainment and a slide away from 'factual' or 'true' interpretations (Barker 1999: 206). As Jackson (1992: 76) argues, implicit within this association of the 'popular' with 'vulgarity' is a deeper pronouncement between 'the working classes' and the middle and upper classes. Scathing observations of a commercialised, reactionary and nostalgic impulse towards the past, which characterise these decades of debate, are thus also making statements about the politics of class. What these debates offer this thesis is not only a critique of the elitist nature of the dominant understanding of heritage, however, but a case in point within which to observe the tenacity of the AHD. The idea of 'bogus' heritage, both malleable and deceitful in terms of historical 'truths', was one such re-enactment of the AHD. Tied to this is the notion of a 'safe', 'sterile', 'sanitised' and 'timeless' heritage, constructed in the heritage industry debates as a counterpart to the potentially malign character of heritage. In these constructions, the idea of authenticity was paramount. This idea of 'bogus' heritage was compounded both by the pathology of nostalgia and the construction of heritage users as dupes, passively *receiving* the messages and interpretations presented to them. To get something else out of heritage, something that deviates from the anticipated 'information' or 'education' exposed by a range of experts in itself renders it something that is *not* heritage according to the AHD. Thus, in conjunction with the lingering principles of nineteenth century conservation embedded in the AHD, these newer ideas of shallowness and inauthenticity have worked to alienate the 'present', 'banal' and 'everyday' from heritage management policies and practices. While unpacking the heritage industry debates is useful for problematising the AHD, its import also



lies with the similarities it shares with institutional reasoning drawn upon to explain the changing name of heritage to that of 'historic environment'.

In terms of using or doing heritage, the consequences of this removal of an active present have been far-reaching, and remain a notion that will be revisited throughout the course of this thesis. In this rendering, people are somehow reconstituted as 'audiences' or 'visitors', generally perceived as passive receptors of 'expert' pronouncements and messages – this is a conceptualisation that has serious ramifications for genuine social inclusion initiatives. Heritage, in this sense, is distantly observed, though something that is shared, and is acquired through those messages imparted by national institutions, expert bodies and interpreters of the past. In accepting and extending this notion of distance, the AHD settles comfortably into the usual confines of the self/other dyad, with 'the present' emphasised as 'other' (Knecht and Niedermuller 2002: 90). Those who propose to cross the self/other divide without the cultural capital to acquire and recognise knowledge in the 'accepted' way are decreed as popularist, and are delegitimised through their failure to experience and engage with heritage in those ways expressed and mediated by the AHD. This self/other dyad was particularly visible in more recent heritage literature dealing with social inclusion.

Key points emerging from this review will continue to inform the analysis undertaken in this thesis. Most importantly, I will examine how a nationalised, class-orientated and aestheticised sense of 'heritage' has been used as a tool of cultural governance used to create the tangible reality for a deeper sense of nationalist belonging and identity. The pervasiveness of these central assumptions, coupled with the opening up a more globalised communicative dialogue, has allowed for their universalisation and, ultimately, their naturalisation. This is an important point, as these assumptions continue to implicitly guide the management of heritage in contemporary climates. The prevalence of a nationalistic discourse remains intact, predictably demonstrated through the reverence and privileging of monuments thought to be expressive of a civilised nation. Likewise, the efforts of the ruling and upper middle classes to not only champion 'heritage', but also embed that idea of 'heritage' in specific class-based experiences and values, has worked to legitimise and privilege a particular notion of the past and its role in the present. The purpose of the next

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chapter is to provide the suite of tools necessary for revealing the discursive strategies employed to broker such a process of naturalisation.



# DISCOURSE ANALYSIS AND CULTURAL POLICY

## Theory and methodology

### THE RULE OF THREE: BEING CRITICAL AND OTHER PERSUASIVE REPERTOIRES

A defining task for this thesis is mapping the competing discourses of 'heritage' as they occur within public policy in England. In the previous chapter, I reviewed the historical development of an interest in 'heritage', drawing attention to the characteristics, assumptions and markers maintained over time that eventually converged into what has become the dominant framing of 'heritage' – the AHD. I also flagged up the heritage industry critiques of the 1980s as central debates out of which this thesis arises, both in terms of the ways they can be seen as reactions *to* the AHD as well as subtly constrained and constructed *within* it. Both of these revelations pushed the idea of 'discourse' to the forefront. Subsequently, the primary task of this chapter is to identify an intellectual framework that situates 'discourse' as a legitimate object of analysis. Borrowing from Jaworski and Coupland (1999a: 6) and their metaphor of 'forensics', this framework needs to move beyond mere description towards the critical exposure or deconstruction of the social practices and power relations that are conditioned by, and constitute, discourse. As such, this chapter will examine a suite of workable theories and methodologies that have something useful to say about *how* language and discourse are *used*, and how this use may be charted and explored. This instigates a necessary departure away from the literature associated with Heritage Studies towards a range of perspectives developing within linguistics (Jakobson [1960] 1999; Chomsky 1965; N. Fairclough 1992, 1999b, 2003), social psychology (Billig 1987; Potter and Wetherell 1987; Edwards and Potter 1992; Wetherell and Potter 1992; Potter 1996), cultural studies (Hall 1999, 2001), critical theory (Macdonnell 1986; Fraser 1989; Billig 2001), anthropology (Lévi-Strauss 1969; Fitch 2001) and sociology (Mehan 2001; Heritage 2001; Wooffitt 2001, 2005; Blommaert 2005). A natural response to this diversification of perspectives has been the development of a number of

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approaches to discourse and its analysis, which include conversation analysis, Foucauldian research, discursive psychology, critical discourse analysis and sociolinguistics. These bring with them equally diverse ranges of accepted data sources, extending from naturally occurring conversations to policy documents and records, media representations, interview transcriptions, focus group discussions, archival materials, visual images, photographs and political speeches (Wetherell 2001b: 381). As such, the task of this chapter is to identify not only the tradition of discourse analysis that will be utilised, but the associated datasets this brings with it.

With the strong public policy emphasis adhered to within the thesis, this chapter will focus primarily upon critical discourse analysis (CDA) as the analytical tradition most relevant to this study. The central aim of this chapter, therefore, is to provide an overview of the theoretical and methodological assumptions of this approach, including its ontological<sup>6</sup> and epistemological<sup>7</sup> underpinnings. It will also outline the rationale for this selection, provide a glossary of the techniques and linguistic concepts utilised to track the incorporation of various discourses across a range of different texts and documents (Jaworski and Coupland 1999a: 9), and articulate the kinds of social and ideological interpretations that can be reached through this approach. Following from this, the chapter will explore the additional methodological approaches required to obtain the data material under analysis, focusing specifically upon the qualitative techniques of in-depth interviewing. To this end, the chapter will also briefly consider the axiological issues of doing this kind of research. Finally, the chapter ends with the suggestion that these datasets may be further contextualised with the aid of Q Methodology, a social surveying technique concerned with unearthing and analysing the different ‘ways of seeing’ particular social problems. A more in-depth examination of this methodology is provided in Chapter 4, where it is utilised to identify and map the various discourses of ‘heritage’ and test the proposition that a dominant heritage discourse, as well as a range of competing discourses, exists.

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<sup>6</sup> Ontology, at its simplest, can best be understood as *being*, what *is* and what *exists* (Hay 2002: 61). Or, as Norman Blaikie (1993: 6 – see also March and Furlong 1995: 18) states, ontology, “*refers to the claims or assumptions that a particular approach to social enquiry makes about the nature of social reality – claims about what exists, what it looks like, what units make it up and how these units interact with one another.*”

<sup>7</sup> Epistemology is closely related to ontology, in that it sets out *how* one knows what one knows. It is been defined by Blaikie (1993: 6–7 – see also March and Furlong 1995: 18) to include “... *the claims or assumptions made about the ways in which it is possible to gain knowledge of reality.*”



### THE FIRST CRITIQUE: CRITICAL REALISM

As any research project is inherently shaped by its ontological and epistemological position, I want to use this section to make explicit the orientation that underpins this thesis. This is because an exploration of these issues will make clearer the choices I have made in terms of methodologies for generating data. As Jaworski and Coupland (1999a: 33 – see also Fairclough 2003: 14–15) point out, a hallmark of critical discourse analysis is its questioning of objectivity. Immediately, this associates the type of research undertaken by the CDA tradition with the ontological and epistemological underpinnings of critical theory and post-structuralism (cf. Fairclough 2001b; Taylor 2001; Blommaert 2005; Benwell and Stokoe 2006), and a belief in the researcher's ability to represent or 'capture' an inevitably partial, and situated, picture of reality (Taylor 2001: 11; Fairclough 2003: 15). While I want to avoid examining in any detail the divide commonly posed between the ideas of objectivity as rooted in logical positivism and post-modernist inspired relativism (for an in-depth discussion, see Barrett 1988; Bhaskar 1989b; Williams and May 1996; Franklin 1995; Marsh and Furlong 1995: 19; Trigger 1995b; Bhaskar and Lawson 1998: 3; Benton 1998: 297; Moore 1999; Moore-Gilbert 2000; Flyvbjerg 2001), a small amount of discussion around these issues is needed to principally contextualise this questioning of objectivity. A secondary reason for examining this diversion lies with the prevalence of positivist inspired assumptions and approaches to heritage embedded within its attendant policy and legislation. Indeed, as Smith (2004: 58) has pointed out, Heritage Studies, by virtue of its historical associations with archaeology, remains indefinitely caught between the impasse between positivism and relativism.

The polarisation of positivism and relativism is also characteristic of wider political analysis, which is similarly caught up in debates questioning the legitimacy of both (Hay 2002: 59; Fischer 2003a). For Mitchell (1988: 29, cited in Moore 1999: 7), this impasse transpires as:

*... the irresolvable tension between the need to separate oneself from the world and render it up as an object of experience, and the desire to lose oneself within this object world and experience it directly (Mitchell 1988: 29, cited in Moore 1999:7).*

Thus, despite a growing number of attempts to debunk positivism in the social sciences, it remains 'socially convenient' for policy-makers, external funding agencies and other political vehicles to absent themselves from the social and

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subjective world or ‘wash it out’ with numbers rather than words (Hajer 1996; Christians 2003; Denzin and Lincoln 2003a,b; Fischer 2003a,b; Greenwood and Levin 2003: 143; Lincoln and Guba 2003). This notion of ‘social convenience’ has allowed the policymaking process to successfully transform itself from *a* particular meaning of reality into *reality* itself, and thereby has *become* ‘the art of the possible’ in policy terms (George 1994: x). Grounded in this way, the policymaking process has worked to effectively undermine or make invisible the very existence of alternative approaches to a range of issues (Capdevila and Stainton Rogers 2000: 153), including ‘heritage’. However, understanding precisely how this came about requires a closer look at what it means to be ‘positivistic’.

### *Positivism or Relativism?*

Positivism works from the central premise that:

*... there is a separate and distinct ‘social reality’ ‘out there’ somewhere, separated from those who experience it, and that it is the scientist’s job to uncover this separate reality and report on it, for that is the essence of ‘Truth’ (Denzin and Lincoln 2003c: 626).*

At its heart, this line of enquiry echoes with ideas established during the Enlightenment, particularly those of objectivity, the distinction between ‘fact’ and ‘value’, ideas of value-neutrality and a neglect of the normative (Fischer 2003a: 119). Neo-positivism is a modified version of positivism that aims to lay down “... *a body of knowledge empirically organised as replicable causal generalisations*”, achievable by adhering to empirical research designs, sampling and data gathering procedures, quantitative measurements and causal models with predictive power (Fischer 2003a: 121). Importantly, this independent reality is assumed to be accessible in a form that is pure and separate from the tools and perceptions used to apprehend it (Hajer and Wagenaar 2003: 16). The fact-value dichotomy of the Enlightenment, alongside others, remains an implicit part of the rhetoric of public policymaking, accounting for the ways in which the normative orientations of ‘the everyday’ are overshadowed by empirical or ‘factual’ based knowledges, particularly at a methodological level (Fisher 2003a: 122). In short, positivism operates around two central assumptions, which are necessary for accepting the utility of its approach: first, the “... *fusion of the world and experience*” and second, the reduction of knowledge “... *to the level of experience which is, as constitutive of the nature of reality itself, held to be certain*” (Bhaskar 1989a: 55). Through these assumptions, notions of ‘objective truth’ are categorised as *self-explanatory*. The complication of this scenario



lies with the ease with which this epistemology has been absorbed as a mechanism of government and slotted into the many legislative devices set in place to manage, protect and conserve the cultural heritage (Smith 1994, 2001, 2004; Smith and Campbell 1998). The realms of 'being' and 'knowing' form part of the above problem, and have been camouflaged within heritage policy and legislation by an adherence to a naturalist ontology that partitions each into mutually exclusive – and incompatible – domains alongside 'value' and 'fact' and 'is' and 'ought' (D. Pels 2003: 76). Within these discursive parameters, notions of 'fact' and 'knowing' have been naturalised into a privileged position that assumes precedence over 'value' and the more subjective states of the mind (D. Pels 2003: 78). It is a separation that is all too visible in public policy, as various governmental departments attempt to veil social problems as technical facts discernable only by the technical 'expert', negating the critical capacity of people to engage in value conflicts (Hajer 1995: 282; Fischer 2000; Mitchell 2003). This is manifest in heritage policy through technical reports, input–output projections, cost–benefit analyses, quantitative survey research, mathematical simulation models, numerical meta-analysis, systems analysis and standardised classification systems – see, for example, *Valuing Cultural Heritage – Lessons Learned* (Navrud 1995), *The Regional Cultural Data Framework: Final Technical Report* (DCMS 2002d), *A Research Strategy for DCMS 2003 – 2005/06 (Technical Paper No. 3)* (DCMS 2003c), *The DCMS Evidence Toolkit (DET): Technical Report (Formerly, the Regional Cultural Data Framework)* (DCMS 2004d) and *Taking Part* (DCMS 2005b).

More importantly, the absorption of these epistemological and ontological underpinnings works to communicate a particular ideal of 'the heritage manager' to the public, beginning first with an ability to confidently provide objective statements about the past, and secondly, with the identity this supplies to a variety of heritage organisations and institutions (Preucel 1990: 19; Smith 2001). The knowledge base offered by positivism mediates not only the types of methodologies and datasets considered relevant in a policy sense, it also mediates the ways in which power and interests are exercised (Hajer 1996: 57).

*This means that positivism does not restrict itself to the conduct of the social sciences, but also, and more importantly, includes normative beliefs and habits of governance and policymaking. (Fischer 2003a: 120).*

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Dryzek (1990: 12) argues that objectivism, hypothetico-deductive theory and rationality, as employed in the 'real world' of politics and associated with bureaucratic–authoritarian political forms, are bolstered by the *cultural impoverishment* of expert culture (see also White 1988: 116–117). His contention is straightforward: in creating *one* objective reality accessible only through a specific potential for explaining that reality serves as much to support a configuration of power as it does for explanation.

An important consequence of this impasse for Heritage Studies and heritage policy is the alienation of 'the public' from 'the expert', with the latter privileged over the former. This, as I have argued elsewhere (see Waterton 2005), awakens a striking contradiction for the practice of managing heritage. This contradiction is based on the argument, as noted by Pearson and Sullivan (1995: 17), that heritage management is predicated upon the notion that "... *there can only be one valid reason for conserving heritage: they are valued by elements of a community, by a whole community, or by our society as a whole*". Yet the idea of expertise and objectivity allows this process of valuing and using heritage to be soothed, sanitized and administered to 'a public' largely removed from the process (Waterton 2005: 320). A reliance on empiricist foundations therefore acts as a bridge that simultaneously links heritage managers, conservation officers, architectural historians, and so on, to 'their' data and the archaeological record while efficiently by-passing the public itself, who reappear at the end of the process, usually in terms of the recipients of education and information (Waterton 2005; Waterton *et al.* 2006). Phrases such as 'stewards' 'caretakers' or 'minders' of the past perpetuate this role by carrying the message that only professionals can – and do – care for the past (Zimmerman 1998: 70, 2000: 71). These phrases, in turn, imply notions of 'reclaiming', 'giving back' or 'looking after for', constructing a scenario that is very much reliant upon the arrogant language of 'allowing' local communities to 'reclaim' that what experts have determined to be 'heritage'. Indeed, as Fischer (2003b: 216) remarks on a more general level, "*Empiricism, in its search for such objective generalisations, has sought to detach itself from the very social contexts that can give its data meaning.*" Jones (2002: 28) makes a similar argument in asserting that this type of assumption rests with the privileged position of science achieved through positivism. He summarises this relationship as follows:

*... if we consider science to have a privileged access to nature then the knowledge constructed through this privileged position also allows us to view*



*culture as demarcated, since those who are able to 'see' nature in its true form are also culturally exemplary or special (Jones 2002: 28).*

Subsequently, those afforded a position of power *through* an appeal to objectivity are set up as 'experts' who can then find accountability with the data they study, rather than with the people who value it, highlighting two important questions: *why*, and for *whom*, does heritage management function (Zimmerman 1998: 79)?

An important consequence of the polarisation between positivism and relativism is the assumption that to reject one is to embrace the other (Danermark *et al.* 2002: 2–3). As such, intellectual traditions that reject notions of objectivity (i.e. positivism and post-positivism) are often accused of associating with a radical form of relativism. Relativism is described by Laudan (1990) as involving the use of four main tenets. First, it is theory-laden. That is, no one perceives the world objectively; rather, each person is subject to influence and thus can never satisfy positivist criteria (see Johnson 1999: 102). Second, it assumes an under-determination of theory by evidence. Third, it rests on the idea of holism, suggesting that in order to understand the 'part' we need first to understand the 'whole'. Finally, it accepts the idea of science as a social activity, renouncing the positivist assertion of objectivism and replacing it with an understanding that science is subject to social, cultural and historical forces (see also Trigger 1991: 65–68). From this perspective, discussions of discourse tend to take on an all-embracing stance from which, as Butler (1994: 155) notes, it becomes "... *some kind of monistic stuff out of which all things are composed*". Access to concrete and material realities are dismissed and replaced by an egalitarian belief in the "... *multiplicity of (incommensurable) perspectives*" and a denouncement of the possibility of establishing amongst these perspectives truth and falsity (Hay 2002: 230). Joseph (2004: 147) takes this point further in his argument that:

*... if knowledge-conditions are internalised in discourse, or reduced to the will to truth, if epistemic relativism becomes judgemental relativism so that the diversity of truth claims means there are no grounds for judging these discursive paradigms ... we end up with Lyotard's postmodernist language-game position whereby: "All we can do is gaze in wonderment at the diversity of discursive species" (Lyotard 1984: 26).*

From this, we reach the position that there is no social reality without discourse, moreover, "... *no position can claim privilege, can claim to be more rational, more just, more humane*" (Haber 1994: 28). A significant implication of this standpoint is the denial of the political – of power, resistance, ideology, access, dominance (Fraser 1989:

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181). Some proponents of discourse analysis subscribe to this idea of relativism (see Edwards *et al.* 1995), and argue that nothing exists outside of our cultural and discursive references. As Edwards *et al.* (1995: 26) point out, this line of argument can be extended to ‘furniture’ or ‘the holocaust’ – those things that *cannot* be denied and those things that *should not* be denied. Despite the convincing arguments put forward by Edwards *et al.* as an example of a relativist approach to discourse-analysis, this philosophical grounding does not sit comfortably with the position adopted in this thesis. Instead, this thesis is informed by Critical Realism, a philosophical position adopted by CDA to dismantle the antithesis of positivism and relativism.

### *Critical Realism*

Most discussions of Critical Realism will inevitably be associated with British philosopher Roy Bhaskar (Danermark *et al.* 2002: 4). Adherence to Critical Realism (CR) highlights an important ontological distinction: it strongly adheres to the idea of material consequences and – ultimately – an object-orientated world (Collier 1994; Archer 1995; Fischer 2000: 79; Sayer 2000 – see also Bernstein 1983: 135; Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2004: 32), or, as Wetherell (2001b: 391) remarks, it carries a focus on the *material efficacy of discourse*. In short, it finds a “... *real world of consequence*” in which to ground itself (Smith 1996: 97; see also Raper 1999: 62; Wylie 2002: 161). Unlike arguments developed by Edwards *et al.* (1995), reality from this perspective cannot, and should not, be reduced to our knowledge of it, or our cultural/discursive frames of reference (Fairclough 2003: 14). In terms of discourse analysis, Fairclough (2003: 14) argues:

*One consequence is that we should assume that no analysis of a text can tell us all there is to be said about it – there is no such thing as a complete and definitive analysis of a text.*

Thus, the CDA approach is located within the wider ‘critical social sciences’ (Chouliaraki and Fairclough 1999; Fairclough 2003; Fairclough 2005b), under the influences of Marxism, and thus tends towards a more materialist position (Howarth and Stavrakakis 2000; Wetherell 2001b: 392). From the underpinnings of CR, CDA does not propose that any given person constructs reality her- or himself, but instead authors an *understanding* of reality. Social reality is thus understood as both context and people dependent, but neither people nor context exhaustive (Harré and Bhaskar 2001: 28). It is this emphasis on the socially constructed nature of reality that allows CDA to exemplify a concern with the *how*



and *why* (Clarke 1996: 158; Denzin and Lincoln 2003a: 8), an intent that is useful for the approach to heritage developed in this thesis.

The utility of CR here is the emphasis on the social nature of knowledge, while maintaining an understanding of the materiality of social practices, relations and consequences – reality is both socially produced *and* independent (Bhaskar 1989a: 51 – see also Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2004). In cautioning against positivist thinking, CR maintains that all knowledge claims are fallible, thereby injecting a hint of relativism into the equation (López and Potter 2001b: 97, 2001c). But, as López and Potter (2001b: 97) point out, there is ‘relativism’ and there is ‘relativism’, and CR very pointedly rejects the kind of relativism that ‘reduces knowledge claims to their sociology’ (López and Potter 2001b: 97; Joseph 1998: 86). Nevertheless, CR succeeds in drawing a line between positivism and relativism, such that the world can be seen to exist independently of knowledge, but this knowledge is produced through social practice, and therefore, must be approached with caution and critique (Bhaskar 1989a: 24 – see also Joseph and Roberts 2004: 2). It therefore allows this thesis to adopt a position that aims to address how existing models of explanation are often a reflection of the agendas of the societies that create such models (Forsyth 2001: 146). This type of sensitivity is useful here as an explanation into why only certain aspects of heritage are addressed in policy, and further, why the interests of some groups are not included in the policymaking process (Forsyth 2001: 146).

In terms of ‘discourse’, the injection of a critical ontological stance means that the idea of language as neutral or “... *simply conveying a real world*” (Wetherell 2001b: 392), and thus straightforward and in need only of description rather than analysis, is rejected. Instead, discourse is seen as *constituting* reality. This is not to say that everything is constructed, rather, there are also underlying – real – causes and patterns that are separate from the ways we talk, write, represent and communicate things (Wetherell 2001b: 393). This distinction is for Bhaskar (1986; 1998) the basis of two types, or ‘sides’, of knowledge, which comprise the social activities of producing knowledge on the one hand, and the knowledge *of* things that are not socially produced on the other. The first of these ‘knowledges’ are labelled *transitive objects of knowledge*, and the latter are referred to as *intransitive objects of knowledge* (Bhaskar 1989a: 180; 1998: 16; Fairclough *et al.* 2003: 24). From here we are left with two different dimensions of reality: one that is fashioned by our own

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conceptualisation and discourses, and one that would not cease to “... *act and interact*”, regardless of whether we speak for it or not (Bhaskar 1998: 17; Potter 2001: 188). Subsequently, all ‘knowledge of’ becomes partial, layered and fallible, and ultimately subject to social creation, but this does not detract from the independently existing reality (Potter 2001: 189 – see also Potter and López 2001).

The methodological significance these ontological foundations carry for this research lie with the important corollary that there is a difference between ‘reality’ and ‘appearance’ (Marsh and Furlong 1995: 30). As such, notions of ‘commonsense’, ‘face value’ and ‘appears to be so’ are masking something else, and while this may rest with a difference between ‘real’ and ‘perceived’, it is nonetheless a difference which might be characterised, constrained or facilitated by power and ideology in society (Marsh and Furlong 1995: 31). Methodologically, this realist approach is guided by both quantitative and qualitative techniques, and inspires a critical interest in how certain problems or issues are perceived, or discursively constructed. In this way, then, critical realism attempts to interface realist and interpretist assumptions (Marsh and Furlong 1995: 35). For research tackling public policy, what this means is an acceptance not only of the real consequences and affects of discourse, but also that those ‘policy affects’ reflect a dominant discursive construction and constrain the resonance of alternative narratives (Marsh and Furlong 1995: 35 – see also Jones 2004: 43). As such, while there are many real processes at work that affect heritage, these are approached through discourse, and thus it is the discursive constructions *of* those ‘real’ processes that shape policy (Marsh 1995: 161). In short, there is rhetoric and there is reality.

## **THE SECOND CRITIQUE: CRITICAL DISCOURSE ANALYSIS**

My emphasis on language is in many ways symptomatic of the times, as language has become a politicised and critical issue in contemporary society (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 259; Clarke and Newman 1998; Clarke 2000; Corker 2000: 448; Fairclough 2001d; Wodak 2001b; Coffin 2003; Blommaert 2005: 25). This is fuelled by a cynicism and distrust of the ways in which language has been regulated and ritualised in a policy sense, and used to exclude and control. The prevalence of the media has also been crucial in the rising awareness of the role played by language, particularly in terms of its calculated manipulation by the politics of New Labour. Language, indeed, has become salient and striking. Titscher *et al.* (2000: 143; see also Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 261; Jaworski and Coupland 1999a: 33; Wodak



2004; Richardson 2007: 28) suggest that CDA, arising out of the Marxist influences of Louis Althusser, Mikhail Bakhtin, Antonio Gramsci and Umberto Eco, and the anti-Marxist theories of Michel Foucault (see, for example, Anderson 2003), is equally clear on the issue that many of the problems faced today are discursive. This is as true of the heritage sector as any other area of social life, which no longer talks in terms of whether there *are* problems surrounding 'heritage', but how those problems may best be interpreted (Hajer 1995: 14). In these contexts, both the problems and solutions surrounding 'heritage' are discursive.

The principle means by which I will come to grips with the discursive texturing of 'heritage' is through CDA, which takes up a Critical Realist/neo-Marxist underpinning and employs a social constructivist view of language (Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 1; Jaworski and Coupland 1999b: 497; Kincheloe and McLaren 2003: 441). It is essentially an interdisciplinary pursuit that begins with social issues and problems (Fairclough 2001c: 229 – see also Jones 2004: 45f; Bloor and Bloor 2007: 12), and, reflecting upon the platform of CR set out above, examines these issues and problems in light of power, ideology and domination. It also does so with an explicit rejection of positivism's empirical basis, as Fairclough (2004: 116) makes clear:

*... the 'empirical' is what is available as knowledge of the real and the actual. However, the real and the actual cannot be reduced to the empirical, i.e. one cannot assume that what is known exhausts what is.*

It is therefore 'critical' in the sense that it tests the opacity between the 'real' and 'perceived', it explores the promotion of ideology and the consolidation of hegemonic discourses, and it champions progressive social change (Stainton Rogers *et al.* 1995: 114; Fairclough 2001c: 230; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 105). Owing a foundational debt to critical theory, CDA has a tendency towards political commitments and supporting new critical social movements. This does not mean that CDA is concerned simply with the negative impacts of discourse, although it often is, but also attempts to trace its positive effects. It is commonly organised around issues such as class (Gaudio and Bialostok 2005), gender (Lazar 2005a,b; Wodak 2005), racism (van Dijk 1986; Wodak 1996; Augoustinos and Penny 2001; Augoustinos 2001; McCann-Mortimer *et al.* 2004; Augoustinos *et al.* 2002; Blackridge 2006), identity (Wodak *et al.* 1999; Barker and Galasiński 2001; Blackledge 2002; Pietikäinen 2003; Wodak 2003b; Benwell and Stokoe 2006),

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ethnicity (van Dijk *et al.* 1997) and disability (Corker 2000), and explores these issues through the examination of political discourse (Fairclough 1993, 1999a; Chilton and Schäffner 1997, 2002; van Dijk 2002a,b; de Beaugrande 2004; Dunmire 2005), media language (Fairclough 1995c; P. Graham 2002; Richardson 2007) and institutional discourse (Drew and Sorjonen 1997; Grant *et al.* 1998; Marshak 1998; Reed 1998; Waterton *et al.* 2006), for example. A sophisticated development of critical theory, CDA takes up an interest in diverse, perhaps conflicting agendas, and thus does not attempt to force an integrated solution or coherency but, rather, seeks to reveal and critique particular aspects of discursive arrangements (Hammersley 1995: 37–38). Centrally, CDA attempts to come to grips with this complexity by gathering its dataset at the vantage point created by the intersection of external and internal levels of inquiry. This point of intersection brings together the more abstract and external elements of social structures and practices with the specific and internal elements of the grammatical, lexical and semantic. The relationships uncovered at this juncture are then analysed in terms of the effects they have on society, with, as Blommaert (2005: 26) argues, an added emphasis on change, empowerment and practice-orientedness. It is thus characterised not only by an avid interest in negotiating the ‘social’ and ‘linguistic’ in one project, but also by its strong interest in power and ideology.

### *Theoretical Underpinnings*

As a starting point for unpacking CDA as a methodological approach, it is useful to examine it first as a theoretical package and identify its central tenets. I will begin by defining the term ‘discourse’ as it is used in this thesis, as it is a term with many meanings. Indeed, it is somewhat overly defined and is described by some as vacuous (Stainton Rogers *et al.* 1995: 243 – see also Richardson 2007: 21). In part, this has occurred because it draws interest from a number of disciplines, including linguistics, history, philosophy and literary studies. It is also difficult to define because of the range of meanings it offers *within* these disciplines, ranging from an understanding of the organisation of sentences in a linguistic sense, to that of discourse as a regulating body that forms consciousness (Muecke 1992: 35; Jäger 2001: 35; Wodak 2003a: 9). Of these meanings, discourse is most commonly equated with ‘language-in-use’ and has roots back to linguistics, resulting in what is often referred to as “... *the prison-house of language*” (Chalaby 1996: 685) in which this more restrictive understanding is seen to result in a limited application. My concern with discourse, which borrows from poststructuralist theories (particularly that employed



by Foucault 1970, 1977c, 1984b, 2003), is firmly grounded in social and cultural contexts, and extends beyond (but also includes) the conceptualisation of 'language-in-use'. Rather than take discourse as a straightforward vehicle of meaning, which is reflective and neutral, I understand it to be more powerful, affective and situated (Taylor 2001: 6–7; Blommaert 2005: 2). The definition from which I start comes from Maarten Hajer, and his work on environmental discourse in *The Politics of Environmental Discourse: Ecological Modernization and the Policy Process*, in which he defines discourse as:

*... a specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities* (Hajer 1996: 44).

This understanding looks beyond semiotics or communication to focus on the *potency* of discourse. Importantly, this roots discourse in societal processes, as well as revealing the recursive relationships discourses share with ideology and knowledge, and particularly, how these are transformed through discourse into public policy. Although my theorising on discourse owes a debt to Foucault (1970, 1977a,b, 1984a, 2003), it departs from Foucault's employment through its anchoring to the critical realist perspective (Meueke 1992: 35; Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 28; Danaher *et al.* 2000; Philips and Hardy 2002). Foucauldian approaches, in contrast to critical realism, deal primarily with transitive knowledge, and are thus left open to the criticism that they take the world itself, and the knowledge we have amassed about it, to be one and the same thing (Joseph 2004: 144). As such, discourses and material practices are seen to be reducible to each other. This leads to a situation whereby "... *reality outside of knowledge is declared meaningless*", resulting in what Bhaskar (1989a: 38–39) terms 'epistemic fallacy' (see also Joseph 1998: 85, 2004: 144). When applied to discourse, this amounts to the idea that nothing exists outside of the conditions, limits and forms of language, and thereby commits the analyst to a 'linguistic fallacy' (Joseph 1998: 85). Instead, I take up a slight shift in focus, taking discourse to be not limited to discourse-in-use, but to encompass discourse-in-action, both in terms of how it is enacted and how it enacts. In this sense, it becomes, as Blommaert (2005: 29) points out, discourse-as-text (including grammar, modality, transitivity, nominalisation etc.), discourse-as-discursive practice (specific texts circulated and consumed, with reference to coherence and intertextuality) and discourse-as-social practice (the ideological and hegemonic effects).

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In taking discourse to be much more than simply language-in-use, it can be seen to encompass not only speaking and writing, but it also includes imagery, design, music, artwork and layout (Hodge and Kress 1988; Kress and van Leeuwen 1996; Janks 1997; Jaworski and Coupland 1999a: 7; van Leeuwen and Jewitt 2001a; Rose 1996, 2001). At a more complex level, it also encompasses 'ways of representing', or the positions, perspectives or platforms from which an area of the world is represented or envisioned (Fairclough 2003: 26). Finally, it also includes embodied representations, or 'ways of being' (Fairclough 2003: 26), such as performances, identities, expressions, styles, reactions, behaviours, responses and impressions (Young [1989] 1999: 430; Bourdieu [1991] 1999: 502; Cameron 1999: 444; Scott 2001: 84). Subsequently, this approach takes discourse to be an irreducible part of social life, and thus a mediating form of social practice perpetually caught up in dialectical relationships with other forms of social practice (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258; Fairclough 2003: 2). These other elements of social practice include: activities, subjects, instruments, objects, time and place, forms of consciousness, values and discourses (Fairclough 2001a: 231). The resultant relationship is thus always both constitutive and constituting. Discourses thus *constitute* certain knowledges, values, identities, consciousnesses and relationships, and are *constitutive* in the sense of not only sustaining and legitimising the 'status quo', but in transforming it (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 258; Richardson 2007: 27f). As Chourliarki and Fairclough (1999: 5) note:

*Language is relevant not only in the discursive construction of the changing practices of late modernity – what is changing in these practices is in part also language (Chourliarki and Fairclough 1999: 5).*

As such, language moves beyond the provision of description and is envisaged within politics as an interpreter, educator and constructor of meaning. Taking up a definition such as this makes clear that the way we 'talk about' things also defines the identities and subject positions from which we make our 'talk'; constructs and mediates the ways we act and organise; and produces and maintains the knowledges and beliefs that in turn work to sustain and legitimise that way of 'talking' (Fairclough, Graham, Lemke and Wodak 2004: 2; Marston 2004: 36). In short, the means by which we create, discuss, talk about and assess 'heritage' matters *matter*. Discourse performs at three levels: within the text as a linguistic form; as a discursive practice, operating as a 'way of seeing' that is drawn upon or enacted; and as a social practice (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 107). It thus takes up an interest



in both the 'social' and the 'linguistic' and has developed a methodological gaze that operates at macro and micro levels accordingly. This gaze is oscillating in that it requires the researcher to take up an interlocutory role divided between fine-grained analyses of texts and broader sociological projects (Fairclough 2001b: 229; Fairclough 2003: 3; Waterton *et al.* 2006: 342). In this type of analysis, CDA research examines the lexico-grammatical choices made within texts as a means to explore how these realise social contexts (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 108). Based upon the assumption of this dialogical relationship, CDA analyses are able to work between 'text' and 'society', and surmise that what is going on socially is both constituted by, and constitutes, that which is going on discursively (Fairclough 2001c: 235–242). In other words, CDA uses language as a means to interpret social contexts, but in order to do so, it takes up an explicit and detailed account of linguistics, semantics and grammar. Or, as Chouliaraki and Fairclough (1999: 140) more eloquently point out, "... *the social is built into the grammatical tissue of language*".

This duality of focus allows the researcher to uncover the 'opaque' as well as the 'transparent', and examine the ways in which power, dominance and control are manifest, constituted and legitimised in discourse (Wodak 2001a: 2; van Dijk *et al.* 1997: 148). As such, the micro-analysis of discourse is used as a mechanism to engage with the macro-analysis of wider societal contexts, the level at which discourses become closely intertwined with the legitimation and maintenance of power (Marston 2004: 38). Importantly, for CDA this duality is simply that: a duality – it is not an either/or, but a *must*, and seeks to incorporate both the significance of social theoretical issues and the social effects of discourse (Fairclough 2003: 3). Its focus is therefore trained both on the abstract and the specific, or, to put it into CDA terminology, the 'orders of discourse' and specific texts. This relationship promotes a favouring of the following emphases within CDA research projects: *intertextuality*, or the presence of different 'voices' within a text; *interdiscursivity*, the mixing of genres, discourses and styles within a text; *recontextualisation*, the colonisation of one social practice by another, recognisable in the recontextualisation of discourse; and *hybridisation*, the transformation of one discourse by another (Fairclough 2003: 218–222; Fairclough 2005a; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 107). In varying degrees these concepts examine the naturalisation of discourses, and draw attention to the hidden effects of power and ideology (Wodak 2001a: 3).

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For Fairclough (1995b), these obscured effects can be better understood in relation to Ideological Discursive Formations (IDF), which are particularly associated with institutional settings. As Niemi (2005: 488; see also Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 263) points out, Fairclough combines Pêcheux's (1982) concept of 'discursive formation' and Althusser's (1971) notion of 'ideological formation' to define IDFs, which are seen to discursively and ideologically position subjects within institutions and thereby sustain the prominence of particular ideologies. A number of IDFs may compete for dominance, and thus the process is inevitably caught up in struggles, imposition and resistance (Mumby and Clair 1997: 184; Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 124; Jaworski and Coupland 1999a: 34; Kincheloe and McLaren 2003: 440). However, unchallenged and dominant IDFs will achieve hegemony within their institutional settings, and will work to maintain that ideological investment by rearticulating a particular discourse, or hybridisation, through the production, dissemination and consumption of a range of texts (Fairclough 1992: 93; Danaher *et al.* 2000: 48). This notion of hegemony rests on the work of Antonio Gramsci, and allows focus to settle on the subtle ways in which power is able to manifest itself, rather than overt displays. Gramsci's understanding of hegemony recognises that power is not always operated through physical forces, but also entails increasingly subtle attempts to dominate through social psychological means (Kincheloe and McLaren 2003: 439 – see also Billig 1990: 61). Furthermore, these power relations may be naturalized within the process and are thus articulated as self-referential acts of 'common sense', simply 'the way things are', or, as Fairclough (1989: 91) notes, citing Pierre Bourdieu, "... *recognition of legitimacy through misrecognition of arbitrariness*". In this light, one particular construction of reality will become *the* reality – it will appear natural, justified, legitimate, unquestionable and inevitable, to the point that it appears to *lose* all ideological content and becomes 'the norm' (Fairclough 1989: 92). This is a central idea for CDA and is one that will be recurrent within the analysis undertaken in this thesis as I attempt to critically *denaturalise* the naturalisation process that underlies the practice of 'heritage'.

### *Methodological Process*

The theorising offered above gives rise to a set of terminologies, processes and techniques that form the methodological repertoire of CDA capable of translating the partial linguistic-discursive character of wider social processes. Thus, while the above has briefly put forward what CDA *is*, in a definitional sense, this needs to be



unpacked in more detail, so as to clearly identify what it *does*, and what it *can do* in terms of this thesis. Along with offering a theoretical standpoint from which to understand the world, CDA also presents a series of conscious and deliberate methodological steps that allow the researcher to penetrate the often complex layering of linguistic, rhetorical and semantic devices (Janks 1992: 58). Importantly, these methodological concepts provide precisely the point at which semantic, grammatical and lexical choices can be translated into a social perspective, allowing the analysis to become a *discourse* analysis and not just an intense social analysis (Fairclough 2001c: 238). In order to apply CDA strategies and techniques, a number of technical concepts and assumptions need first be explored, all of which are informed by the intellectual project of CDA as outlined above. Links have been made between ‘discourse’ and ‘social practices’, but these links need to be addressed in a way that makes useful discourse-analytical sense. As such, these terms must be made operational through an exploration that links textual features to both social practices and ‘meaning’, thereby making connections between the internal and external elements of a text.

Fairclough (2003: 26) suggests that ‘discourse’ and ‘social practice’ translate meaning between each other through three levels, which are conceptualised so as to link the linguistic to the sociological. These levels are defined by Fairclough (2003: 26) as: (1) discourses, or “... *ways of representing the world*”; (2) genres, or “... *ways of acting and interacting with other people*”; and (3) styles, or “...*ways of identifying, construction or enunciating the self*”. These linguistic terms roughly line up with *discourse*, *action* and *identity* to take up sociological terminology (Fairclough 2003: 5) and ensure the ability to oscillate between society and text. Drawing from Systemic Functional Linguistics, these concepts are functionally grounded in what Halliday (1994, cited in Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 140 – see also Fairclough 2003: 26; Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 108) labels the *metafunctions* of language: interpersonal, ideational and textual. Fairclough (2003: 27) slightly modifies these categories into *Action*, *Representation* and *Identification* (labelled collectively as ‘Social Events’), which loosely correspond with genres, discourses and styles. These concepts are used to convey a sense of how the relationships and identities of those involved in interactions are constructed and how texts are designed to organise and connect these relationships together (action and interpersonal/textual); how the world is represented (representation and ideational); and the commitment expressed towards social arrangements, relationships and identities (identification) (Fairclough 2003:



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27). While these can be realised more readily in a social analytical sense, they are also observable in the semantic, grammatical, lexical and phonological elements of a text (Fairclough 2003: 67). Drawing the two together allows the analyst to connect the more abstract and external elements of social events (Actions, Representations and Identifications) to the internal relations of discourse (Semantics, Grammar, Lexical and Phonology) (Fairclough 2001c: 211). As Fairclough (2003: 37) points out, these two levels are unified through the mediating level of discourse, which incorporates genres, discourses and styles:

*Discourses, genres and styles are both elements of texts, and social elements. In texts they are organised together in interdiscursive relations, relations in which different genres, discourses and styles may be 'mixed', articulated and textured together in particular ways. As social elements, they are articulated together in particular orders of discourse – the language aspects of social practices in which language variation is socially controlled. They make the link between text and other elements of the social, between the internal relations of the text and its external relations.*

The relationships between genres, discourses and styles are realised or instantiated through semantic relations, such as *passivisation/activation* and *inclusion/exclusion*, and are loosely expressed in grammatical terms such as *transitivity*, *nominalisation*, *mood* and *modality*, and *theme* (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 109). I say 'loosely' because these relationships, while durable, are also flexible and dialectic. Some of these terms will be returned to in more detail.

Essentially, this convergence of external and internal elements provides insight into: (a) the selection of particular discourses used to interpret events or legitimise actions; (b) how these are then enacted as modes of conduct within both semiotic and non-discursive practices such as organisational procedures (Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2004); (c) how these are potentially inculcated within the identities of social agents, such that those actors position themselves *within* the discourse and see themselves in terms of it (Fairclough 2001a: 233); (d) how discourses may be objectified in organisational practices, perhaps through *technologisation* – the training of institutional personnel in 'standardised' techniques – through which discourses are materialised (Jaworski and Coupland 1999a: 34–35; Fairclough, Jessop and Sayer 2003; Fairclough *et al.* 2004); and, finally, (e) how discourses can be reflexive, evidenced in the ways in which people's activities can be interpreted and represented by experts and academics (Fairclough 2001a: 233). Each of these levels



(1–3, page 73) and their resultant implications (a–e, page 74) form important elements in this thesis.

Reflecting on arguments developed in Chapter 2, the policy process *works upon* the idea of ‘heritage’ through its performative definitions, thereby creating that to which it is referring (Fischer and Forester 1996: 1; D. Pels 2003: 117; Bourdieu and Wacquant 2001). Policy documents, however, do not do this in isolation. Indeed, they often incorporate ‘bytes’ or ‘snatches’ of different texts through intertextuality and assumption, which are used to connect, inform, bolster and legitimise the messages found across a range of documents. They do so not only in terms of the assumptions about what heritage *is*, and what it may be in the future, but also in a manner that attempts to promote this particular version of ‘heritage’ over alternative constructions and win conviction. In setting about these tasks, heritage policies exercise a significant amount of social control, implicit though it may seem, in terms of the degree to which they shape the nature and content of the dominant ‘heritage’ discourse. An important analytical element operating at the external levels of discourse, and one that will be drawn upon with frequency in this thesis, is therefore *intertextuality* (Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 118–119; Fairclough 1999b: 184; Fairclough 2001c: 233). Framing a text in relation to other texts implies *choice*, and thereby highlights a sense of what is being excluded and insulated against, and what is being worked into the interaction. Importantly, intertextuality provides a trigger for examining attempts to assert a new hegemony through the restructuring and resultant hybridisation of a number discourses (Fairclough and Wodak 1997: 271). This concept will be critical to examining the meeting of the AHD and social inclusion discourses in conjunction with attempts to assert a more popularist tone into heritage debates through a focus on ‘public value’.

Intertextuality operates in a similar way to the linguistic conception of *assumption*, which alludes to the judgements and backgrounds against which decisions and choices are made. Unlike the category of ‘intertextuality’, assumptions are rarely attributed in the text and instead remain vague allusions to information gathered ‘elsewhere’ (Fairclough 2003: 40). A sign of ‘fellowship’ and solidarity (Fairclough 2003: 55), assumptions provide a cohesive attempt at postulating ‘common ground’ intertextually. Fairclough (2003: 55) identifies three main types of assumption: existential (what exists), propositional (what is, can, or will be), and value (what is good). An example of an existential assumption is:

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*The historic environment brings in tourism to towns, it promotes education and learning, it brings social inclusion and it engages local communities, giving them pride of place (DCMS 2004a: 4).<sup>8</sup>*

Here, the historic environment is presupposed and given, taken for granted and assumed, along with a number of causal relationships used to illustrate the apparent inevitability of the direction of the heritage process as a result. Note that the *process* itself is obscured, and the relationship between the historic environment, social inclusion and pride of place *simply is*, by virtue of an innate ability of the historic environment to promote these things, rather than through active cultural and social work undertaken by participants. Propositional assumptions include statements such as:

*It is a system which commands wide public support and buy-in for the way it has prevented the destruction of our communal history (DCMS 2004a: 4).*

The current management system in the above statement is dressed up by two distinctive and factitive verbs that characterise the system as both ‘commanding’ and ‘preventing’ certain reactions – that is what it does. Finally, evaluative assumptions may be either explicit or implicit, for example:

*This review began with a commitment that the current level of protection for the historic environment would not be lessened by its outcomes. Rather the government intends to build on and enhance what is good and effective (DCMS 2004a: 4).*

Here, the last sentence is an explicit evaluation of what is ‘good’ and ‘effective’, and indeed, the first sentence carries its own evaluation with implicit references to threats that may ‘lessen’ the virtues of a *desirable* (in this case, ‘the historic environment’) that already exists.

The utility of recognising different assumptions, particularly value assumptions, is that they ultimately belong to different discourses, and do quite a bit of the discursive work involved in making things appear ‘natural’, ‘legitimate’ or ‘common sense’ (Fairclough 2003: 58). It is only a short step from the extraction of such assumptions to making analytically robust statements about universalisation, of relevance here in terms of the way a very definite discourse about ‘heritage’ has

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<sup>8</sup> This statement is included here as an example – analytical arguments arising out the messages and assumptions implicit within this statement will be examined in detail in Chapter 7.



worked to universalise certain management practices and meanings. Policy documents thus play an important role in achieving and maintaining this dominance, becoming, in a sense, ideological and hegemonic tools that work to enact and sustain certain understandings in the service of the dominant discourse (Fairclough 2003: 9).

The two concepts introduced above (intertextuality and assumption) differ in their outcome: for the former, difference is opened up with the injection of external voices, and for the latter, difference is overlaid and closed down through claims of ‘common ground’ (Fairclough 2003: 41). Both concepts thus make reference to *dialogicality*, but operate at different ends of a sliding scale, with one end (intertextuality) purposefully engaging in conversation with other texts and the other end (assumption) silencing or diminishing that conversation through claims to commonsense or inevitability (Fairclough 2003: 41; Waterton *et al.* 2006: 345). The degree to which a text enters into dialogicality is expressive of a willingness to negotiate and interact in the fullest sense of the word ‘dialogue’. Fairclough (2003: 41–42) schematically differentiates this willingness as the following: (a) an openness to dialogue; (b) an accentuation of difference; (c) a resolution of difference; (d) a bracketing off of difference in favour of solidarity; and (e) consensus. Here, the absence of dialogicality becomes illustrative of a completed process of naturalisation, in which conflict and difference has been suppressed and the resultant ‘voice’ is both authoritative and absolute. Orientations of dialogicality can be assessed through an analysis of vocabulary – in particular with reference to *modality* – as a means of examining the extent to which other possibilities are allowed for or not. At essence, modality expresses the commitment, affinity or obligation a person or text has for a particular proposition of truth. As Verschueren (1999, cited in Fairclough 2003: 165 – see also Simpson 1993; Richardson 2007: 59) points out, modality:

*... involves the many ways in which attitudes can be expressed towards the ‘pure’ reference-and-prediction content of an utterance, signalling factuality, degrees of certainty or doubt, vagueness, possibility, necessity, and even permission and obligation.*

For example, modality can be expressed as a modal adverb (possibly, certainly), a modal verb (should or must), modal adjectives (probable), participle adjectives (required), verbs of cognition or mental process clauses (I think, I believe), verbs of appearance (appears, seems), and copular verbs (is) (Fairclough 2003: 171; Benwell

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and Stokoe 2006: 112). Fairclough (2003: 171) adds to this list with markers (obviously, in fact) and hedges (kind of). As such, modality, in expressing a range of meanings in terms of what people think, are doing and how they identify themselves, can be seen to straddle all three internal categories (actions, representations and identifications) discussed earlier, revealing its dialectic nature. It can also be further categorised in terms of the work that it is doing, or the modal meaning it imparts, along the lines of *statement*, *question*, *demand* and *offer* (Fairclough 2003: 167–168). The standard classifications for modal meaning are ‘epistemic’ knowledge or ‘deontic’ activities (Fairclough 2003: 167; Edwards 2006: 177). Here, ‘epistemic’ knowledge may be either a statement (author’s commitment to truth indicated through is, may be, and is not) or question (elicitation of another’s commitment to truth indicated through is?, couldn’t?, and isn’t?), and relates to ‘what we can know’ (Edwards 2006: 477). ‘Deontic’ activities may be either a demand (author’s requirement or obligation indicated through do!, you could and don’t) or offer (author’s commitment to action indicated by I will, I might and I won’t) (Fairclough 2003: 168). The variation within these grammatical forms allows for the expression of scale, such that within modalised clauses, commitment to truth may be high or low, with highly modalised forms such as must and will implying lesser scope for dialogical possibility than may and could. Here, the latter are open to alternative suggestions or possibilities, whereas the former are categorical assertions. Assumption, which brings with it notions of inevitability, is the least dialogical of these examples.

Modality is also a textual indicator of self-identity. If one *commits* oneself wholeheartedly to one thing, and not to another, a picture of how that individual represents the world begins to emerge (Fairclough 2003: 166). The choice in how to communicate a judgement or commitment becomes tied up not only with actions, representations and identifications, but extends, also, beyond particular texts. Who has the power to make categorical statements, for example, or who is able to commit themselves to such a particular truth claim (Fairclough 2003: 167)? Modalised language is also used to distinguish between different styles of presentation and identification, and is particularly useful in ascertaining the realms of ‘expertise’, ‘the public’ and ‘policy-makers’. Thus, with reference to earlier discussions, we can see that genres and styles constitute particular ways of acting and identifying, and make suggestions about social hierarchies that have resonance with the patterns constructed through broader social analysis (Fairclough 2003: 75).



In this way, institutional policy documents communicate sets of interests which are exercised through the positioning of particular actors and the communication technologies they are afforded. Likewise, the *representation* of social actors is important. Who is excluded and/or included? Are they recognised as pronouns? Is the social actor prominent as a participant or a beneficiary? Who is signalled as active and who is passivated?

From here, it is possible to begin to question regarding what it is about language that allows us to make some sort of mental picture about ‘goings on’ – of what can be done and what cannot be done (Janks 1997: 56). This line of questioning brings in patterns of *transitivity*, or the relationships between participants, process and circumstances (Benwell and Stokoe 2006: 109; Richardson 2007: 54), in which verbs, as *doing* words, start to make revelatory allusions about the textual and social constructions of different participants and their positionings. A transitive process will include an ‘actor’, ‘process’ and ‘affected’, and may be either passive or active, whereas intransitive processes will include *either* an ‘actor’ and ‘process’ or an ‘affected’ and ‘process’ (Fairclough 2003: 142). An important aspect of this is the manipulation of agency through which those *doing* something are masked out of the text. This occurs both through abstraction and generalisation, in which activities and process are removed, as are references to precise facts and figures (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 97). This can be achieved with reference to existential processes and the use of *nominalisation*. This latter concept sees the entire activity of ‘doing’ recontextualised as a noun, such that processes simply become things. In these cases, the transparent links between the process and the agent are subsumed within a nominal verb. For example, with ‘destruction’, the people or acts of nature that have destroyed something are bound up and converted into a noun-like word or entity (Fairclough 2003: 143). This obfuscation of agency is a means of generalising and making something appear inevitable through a metaphorical process that simultaneously diminishes responsibility and accountability. As Fairclough (2000: 26) succinctly states:

*Nominalisation involves abstraction from the diversity of processes going on, no specification of who or what is changing, a backgrounding of the processes of change themselves, and a foregrounding of their effect.*

An extension of this argument lies with the concept of institutionalisation and impersonalisation (van Leeuwen 1999: 92–92; Fairclough 2003). This sees subject

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positioning developed to such an extent that an actor *becomes* the institution to which they are attached, or begin to impersonate, to an extent, that institution. In this way, an individual's words or views are represented as that institutions words or views, and personal agency is diminished. This is a persuasive practice that acts as an *externalising devise* used in attempts to conjure up seemingly 'factual' accounts of an event or perspective. It is an attempt to make a tentative reality *the* reality. Quite naturally, then, this is a strategy employed when attempting to assert one discourse over the discourses of others.

Subject positioning is also reinforced through the rhetorical devices and persuasive practices invoked to provoke a sense of legitimacy and authority. These devices will often start with things such as *reactions* and *purpose*. Here, particular participants feelings and emotions will be alluded to and will be recontextualised in line with distinct purposes and aims. These two aspects will lend credence to various attempts of legitimisation, and all will be constructed in discourse (van Leeuwen 1999: 98). Legitimation strategies have been enunciated by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999, see also van Leeuwen 1999), and include *authorisation*, *rationalisation*, *moral evaluation* and *mythopoesis*. The first of these seeks justification through appeals to authority, be that of tradition, custom, law or those people with institutional authority vested within them (Fairclough 2003: 98). This does not necessarily play out in terms of Because I say so or Because so-and-so says so, but will also make reference to the Law, the rules or the Act, such that authorisation appeals may be either personal or impersonal (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 104). In conjunction, authorisation can also be invoked in terms of conformity – if everybody is doing it, then it is legitimate. The second, rationalisation, makes appeals to the cognitive validity or utility of institutionalised action, and follows maxims such as It is the facts of life or commonsense, and is thus a prominent form of legitimisation (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 105). It may include reference to instrumental rationalities, or the positive affects of such social practices (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 105), such as the agreement to conserve material remains of the past for the benefit of future generations. The moral logic that underpins this rationalisation is hidden from view and is left on the surface in an appearance that *seems* straightforward. The third, moral, evaluation appeals to a pre-established discourse of values, and includes economic value, public value, objective value and wellbeing values (van Leeuwen 1999: 109). In this instance, an example might be the conservation of material remains based upon an assumption of the value of 'age'



and 'rarity'. Finally, mythopoesis seeks legitimation through narrative, and appeals to 'moral tales', 'cautionary tales' (Fairclough 2003: 99) or success stories. These stories or narratives might not be explicit within a text, but instead may subtly permeate the text, gently telling a tale of how things *ought* to be and how people *ought* to act.

A more fine-grained analysis of texts requires the incorporation of tighter linguistic concepts that examine the semantic and grammatical relations between sentences and their clauses. These include *causal, conditional, temporal, additive, elaboration and contrastive/concessive* (Fairclough 2003: 89). These are fairly straightforward relations, and they use the identification of particular words to indicate different types of relations. For example, but indicates a contrastive statement, if indicates a conditional statement, and in order to is indicative of a causal relationship (Fairclough 2003: 89). Added to this is the distinction between grammatical relations or clause complexes, in which clauses are seen to be paratactic (or equally prominent, indicated with and), hypotaxic (or in a subordinate/prominent relationship, indicated with because) or embedded (indicated with so that, or in order to) (Fairclough 2003: 92; Golebioskw 2006: 260). Paratactic or hypotaxic relations are used to construct lists, either as those things that are equivalent, or things that exist in some sort of hierarchical order. Fairclough (2000: 28–29, 2003: 94) also identifies what he terms 'logic of appearances', in which disparate processes, participants or things are strung together and made to *appear* connected. What is missing from these lists are explanations as to *why* they are linked. A significant 'logic of appearance' for this appearance lies with the very linking of heritage with social inclusion, and the range of assumed benefits that union will bring. These clause combinations are important for revealing the relative importance of different activities, processes or participants reflected upon in a passage of text. The ordering of words thus plays an interesting role in relaying potentially ideological messages embedded within a text. Equally important are those words or assumptions that are *not* explicit within a text but, rather, are presupposed. *Presupposition* is thus revelatory of a naturalised relationship, and assumes that a reader can make the necessary links between what is *said* and what is *meant*. In addition to these grammatical and semantic areas of inquiry comes what Benwell and Stokoe (2006: 115) refer to as 'the pronoun system', through which notions of inclusion/exclusion, power/submission, active/passive may be realised. Subtle switches between the use of different pronouns have dramatic affects in

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terms of ambiguity, confusing the boundaries between those actively included and those included in appearance only (Fairclough 2000: 164).

Drawing on a range of critical, social theories, CDA presents a methodological approach that successfully negotiates the divide between linguistic and social research, thereby presenting an attractive methodological approach for examining current heritage policy and documentary archives. With the application of discourse-analytical techniques, the discourses animating the heritage sector are 'made to speak', not simply in terms of their potentiality, but in terms of their material and ideological consequences. These consequences are identified and brought out of the very language that characterises the policy field, and can be used to generate new and critical understandings of the AHD. Not only can CDA be used to identify the occurrence of the AHD within and across a range of policy documents, it can also be used to trace the social effects of its enactment and longevity.

### **THE THIRD CRITIQUE: RHETORIC AND REALITY AS CRITICAL CONCEPTS?**

A recurrent theme emerging from this chapter, and indeed a theme that animates this thesis as a whole, is the idea of the disjunction that exists between 'rhetoric' and 'reality'. Notions of rhetoric and reality were implicitly drawn upon in discussions around CR, and were rehearsed again in the above section concerned both with the theory and methodology of CDA. In both cases, a relatively straightforward distinction was alluded to between the two concepts, but in the remainder of this thesis, I want to develop these concepts a little further. For the most part, the distinction between 'rhetoric' and 'reality' has revolved around more or less formulaic comparisons between: (a) 'language of social practices', or discourses found in national policy documents, legislation and guidance notes; and (b) 'activities of social practices', understood here through interviews, Q Methodology and what Fairclough (1995a: 11–12) terms critical ethnography (for fuller details, see later sections in this chapter). While this comparative work between text and society is essential, further analytical work is possible through a shift in perspective that takes in a comparison between text and text, resulting in the emergence of sharper distinctions. As Fairclough (2000: 147) remarks, the gap between rhetoric and reality does not necessarily transpire *as solely* a gap 'between language and something else', it may also become apparent 'between language used in one place and language used in another'. This second, linguistic plane of enquiry



allows the focus of the chapter to deepen, taking up an interest in the distinctions that materialise within overarching genre chains internal to the management process, such that attempts to translate the ‘language’ of policy position statements into the ‘language’ of policy guidance, frameworks and principles, also become the substance of this analysis.

Another twist to the planes of analysis regarding ‘rhetoric’ and ‘reality’ sees the latter momentarily slip from view, allowing the analytical gaze to anchor more firmly on the former: rhetoric. This emphasis reflects developments in the broader area of discourse analysis that arose in reaction to the rhetorical turn, in which the study of different repertoires of persuasion and rhetorical devices took a central seat (Wooffitt 2005: 92 – see also Brown 1994; Potter 1996). Examining the tensions that result from such specific features of a text, and the particular representations of reality upon which they base, requires that the internal limits of the analytical net are cast tighter still. In a complex spiral that moves from society to text to specific features of a text, this additional layer takes us to the point at which fine-grained comparisons are made within and between the internal workings of a text. Not only are the unconsciously selected grammatical and textual devices explored, but so too are the unconscious applications of persuasive devices deployed to make the assumptions, buried within the internal consistencies of the text, appear ‘natural’, ‘factual’ and ‘credible’. It is within the depths of this type of analysis that the packaging up of a particular idea of ‘heritage’, and a particular manner by which that ‘heritage’ should be managed, is revealed.

This trajectory of analysis is still in need of further explanation, particularly with reference to the word ‘rhetoric’. Quite a lot is asked of this word in the three analytical steps introduced above, and it would perhaps be useful to acknowledge the variation this word must undergo as it shifts between both positive and negative meanings. For the most part, the account of the notion I am taking here carries a heavy ideological undercurrent, such that ‘rhetoric’ becomes “... *discourse used to bolster particular versions of the world and to protect them from criticism*” (Potter 1996: 33, 107–108 – see also Gill and Whedbee 1997). Potter has linked this idea to work done by Simons (1990: 11, cited in Potter 1996: 107–108) and Billig (1991: 143) and the idea of argumentation, in which rhetoric is taken to be either *offensive* or *defensive*. Offensive rhetoric attempts to undermine alternatives, whereas defensive rhetoric carries the ability to resist such attempts to undermine (Potter 1996: 107). Rhetoric,

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in this instance, thereby becomes an essential part of the antagonistic relationships that exist between competing versions of the world, in terms of how they counter and undermine alternative claims, organise themselves in relation to those alternatives, and how they resist them (Potter 1996: 108). With this understanding in mind, Billig (1991: 44) makes the point that “... *we cannot understand the meaning of a piece of reasoned discourse, unless we know what counter positions are being implicitly or explicitly rejected*”.

Notions of ‘rhetoric’ formulated in this light advance an understanding of the persuasive, or influential, character of discourse, in that it provides a set of resources for promoting and concealing certain ways of defining and talking about the world and for getting people to accept, endorse or believe a particular way of seeing things. In critical social psychology, there has been a focus on the devices, practices and repertoires people draw upon in order to achieve an authoritative account (although this attempt is not always deliberate). In attempting to conjure up a seemingly ‘factual’ or ‘natural’ account, a key technique that has emerged is that of *externalising devices*, which seek to establish an event as having *actually* happened, or an object as *actually* existing. It ties in with ideas of ‘objective’ truth, and becomes an attempt to construct an idea of ‘out-there-ness’, a distinct and ‘true’ reality, as opposed to a tentative reality. At the forefront of this externalising device is the *empiricist repertoire*, which works to create distance between the ‘author’ and the ‘object’, allowing a sense of ‘objectivity’, ‘independence’ and ‘impartiality’ to surround the encounter (Potter and Wetherell 1987; Edwards and Potter 1992; Potter 1996). These empiricist repertoires are further reinforced by a diminished personal agency, which is similarly tied up in notions of neutrality and objectivity. The equation appears quite simple: with the increase of agency comes the increase of ‘stake’, a natural counterpart of which brings the assumption of diminished objectivity. Subjectivity, motive and stake are thus all seen in terms of how they work to undermine objectivity. Together, these are linguistic practices that are employed in an attempt to construct the ‘objectivity’ of a phenomenon, allowing them to take on a more robust form that is able to rail against alternative versions of events. However, as the title of this thesis suggests, ‘rhetoric’ also carries a further meaning, or rather, lack of meaning, and it is at this level that it is seen to be doing its most successful, yet ultimately shallow, discursive work. This work is dependant upon an increased gap between ‘what is said’ and ‘what is done’, between rhetoric and reality, in which a lack of substances becomes apparent and the words



are emptied out of all meaning, despite attempts to postulate significance (Wooffitt 2005: 95).

‘Rhetoric’ and ‘reality’ are thus concepts of critical importance to the overall intentions of this thesis. First, they provide parameters within which to measure, in a sense, the limits or latitude of a discourse. Second, they draw focus to specific features of a text, in terms of grammar, syntax and structure, as well as argumentation, persuasive devices and repertoires. Finally, they provide analytical concepts by which to examine recent developments in heritage policies and ensuing debates, particularly with reference to whether current upsurges of ‘inclusivity’, ‘participation’, ‘public value’ and ‘plurality’ simply transcend the management process in words or whether they materialise in actions as well.

### **THE CRITICAL DATASET: FURTHER METHODOLOGICAL REQUIREMENTS**

Discourses, drawing on definitions outlined in an earlier section of this chapter – and notions of intertextuality – are not confined in space or time, thereby forcing this thesis to accommodate a number of methodologies in order to adequately unpack the texturing of discourses across a range contexts and sources. Many committed to discourse-analytical strategies argue for the intermixing of this technique with a range of complementary methodologies within the researcher’s ‘armoury’ (Chourliaraki and Fairclough 1999: 17; Fairclough 1999b: 203; Wetherell 2001b: 381; Blommaert 2005: 28). Indeed, with appeals to transdisciplinarity (Fairclough 2003: 225), the meeting of various methods within a single research project is certainly positive. Likewise, Fairclough (1995: 11–12) suggests that it is essential to forge links between CDA and the examination of social structures and processes in an ethnographic sense, resulting in what he has labelled ‘critical ethnography’. Previously, I introduced discourse-analytical approaches and suggested that these provide a useful theoretical and methodological orientation with which to underpin this research. To make good use of these underpinnings, it is necessary to temper them with further methodological tools that can extract an understanding of how ‘heritage’ is understood and defined in a number of settings and by a diversity of interested stakeholders, each in their *own* terms. In order to extract these perspectives, this thesis reflects broadly on the qualitative, multi-method research literature found in the wider social sciences, such as geography, politics, environmental studies, anthropology and sociology, and focuses specifically upon the procedures for undertaking in-depth interviewing and light observations.

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This final area was used to establish rapport, as well as providing the flexibility and fluidity for ensuring a generative and interactional process of realising knowledge that is different to one's own (Mason 2002: 225).

There is an extraordinary collection of strategies and approaches that propose to assist in the extraction and analysis of data available to any researcher, each drawing from differing ontological, epistemological and axiological stances. It is thus an important, though potentially difficult, task to both select and adhere to the *most suitable* methodologies, each capable of yielding a useful assortment of data. Indeed, the research questions and issues at hand must guide the choice of appropriate methods and guide the inquiry (Janesick 1998: 37–38; Avis 2003). This involves both the study and collection of case studies, experiences, artefacts, interviews, texts, observations and introspections (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 3; 2003a: 5). It also involves deciding between whether to take an etic or emic approach, an empathic or impartial line, and an observer or participant's role. In the first instance, the types of research questions driving any research project will ultimately lend themselves to a selection of either qualitative or quantitative methodologies, although in some cases a mixed approach is required. This thesis, based on the questions enumerated in Chapter 1, takes a predominantly qualitative approach. This is because the qualitative, in contrast to the quantitative and drawing from the stem word *quality*, takes as its prime motivator the socially constructed nature of reality (Denzin and Lincoln 2003a: 13; Gomm 2004: 7). Moreover, such research attempts to construct an understanding of the experiences, behaviours, meanings and contexts as understood by key participants (Devine 1995: 197). This approach is thus concerned with *who* and *why*, rather than *how many*, thereby signalling an intent to establish process rather than product (Denzin and Lincoln 2003a: 13). Despite a propensity towards qualitative methods, this is not an attempt to denigrate quantitative methods. Rather, I aim to set up why the particular methods I have chosen to support this research are appropriate and have been guided by the *nature* of inquiry.

### *Qualitative Methods*

Based on the assumption that while there is a concrete reality, this can never be captured, qualitative methods purport that the best way of understanding this world is to do so through a series of representations (Denzin and Lincoln 2003a: 8 – see



also Bernard 1998; Flick 2002; Berg 2004). Denzin and Lincoln (2003a: 4) define qualitative methodologies as:

*... a situated activity that locates the observer in the world. It consists of a set of interpretive, material practices that make the world visible. These practices transform the world.*

Similarly, Holloway (1997: 3) suggests that they are:

*... a form of social inquiry that focuses on the way people interpret and make sense of their experiences and the world in which they live (Holloway 1997: 3).*

Qualitative research has passed through a long history, although it is most often traced to the Chicago School of Sociology, and particularly Margaret Mead, Franz Boas, Edward Evans-Pritchard, Alfred Radcliffe-Brown and Bronislaw Malinowski, who together epitomised the traditional period of qualitative research (Denzin and Lincoln 1998: 13). Developing during the 1900s and continuing until the Second World War, this early period of research was characterised by notions of cultural superiority, and is thus highly reflective of the romantic appeal of the 'other', perceived to be exotic, primitive and less civilised than the researcher (Lincoln and Denzin 1998: 13; Denzin and Lincoln 2003a: 2). Emphasis was placed on neutrality, objectivity and empiricism in an attempt to emulate the natural sciences, a thrust that is explicitly observable in Radcliffe-Brown's (1957) *A Natural Science of Society*. Implicit within these approaches is a pretension towards objectivity, which resulted in an imposition exerted over the 'subject', and a stark contrast made between self and other. Reactions to this issue have abounded over the past few decades, and principally draw their argumentative power from the works of Said (1978), Cowlshaw (1987) and Attwood (1992), and their discussions of Orientalism, Aboriginalists and Aboriginalism, respectively (see, for example, Said 1978, 1989; Cowlshaw 1987, 1992; Attwood 1989; Attwood and Arnold 1992). This work reveals the stark paradox of early qualitative studies, revealing the place of privilege occupied by the researcher as narrator, which is translated into an authorial voice, thereby bringing the social world of both the researcher and 'researched' under the auspices of a single and all-encompassing point of view (Atkinson and Hammersley 1998: 126).

In much the same way that the rest of this chapter has unfolded, this section also acknowledges and accepts the critical, emancipatory influences that have impacted upon qualitative research. Like CDA, the realm of qualitative research has also

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become more politicised, and as a result, self-reflexive. A consequence of this self-reflection has been the rejection of notions of objectivity, and a redirection of the researcher's resources towards trying to unearth or reveal the perspectives of conscious participants, complete with an understanding of how they attach subjective meanings and values to their surroundings (Devine 1995: 201). These accounts, however, are always only textual representations.

Moves towards qualitative methodologies are relatively recent in Heritage Studies, which sees a divergence away from the somewhat elitist conjecture (Meethan 2001: 105; Merriman 1991: 12) of Hewison and Wright, for example, who were somewhat reticent in actually *asking* what people thought and felt about heritage. Indeed, as Mellor (1991: 100) puts it, "... *we have neglected to ask the punters what they think*". By contrast, in this thesis I aim to supplement the textual analysis of policy documents with empirical research that uses qualitative interviewing and social surveying (Q Methodology), rather than the thoughts and perceptions of a handful of individual scholars. Bagnall (2003), Crang (1996), Crouch (1990, 2003a,b), Dicks (1999, 2000, 2002), Harvey and Riley (2005), Macdonald (2002, 2005b), Smith (2006), Smith and van der Meer (2001) and Smith *et al.* (2003) all develop their analyses using a variety of qualitative research methods, and although the type of research these scholars were undertaking is different to the agenda I have set here, the methodologies they employ are similar, and draw attention to the value of in-depth interviewing, surveying and observation. Despite addressing different research questions, this thesis is in part an attempt to understand alternative approaches to 'heritage', and map the conscious effects interacting with heritage brings. This may include expressions of frustration, wellbeing, sadness, outrage, disruption and challenge. Each participant involved in this thesis has argued, debated, walked through and talked through 'heritage' – not necessarily on a daily basis, but with some regularity. How they 'take stock' of that interaction and how they have come to know 'heritage', through individual or a series of expressive encounters, will have important effects for how they relate the questions posed in this thesis.

## THE DATA SAMPLE

As this thesis is responding to a number of research questions, each combining a range of methodological techniques, an equally broad data sample was required. With an explicit emphasis on the language analysis provided by CDA, archival and textual material becomes an obvious source of data. With a time-frame concentrated around the formal drafting and enactment of policies and pieces of legislation concerned with 'heritage' that are still *prevalent* today, the choices made regarding



the textual material to be examined was relatively straightforward. A number of key events were used as signposts for directing the accumulation of data: the enactment of the 1979 *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* and the *National Heritage Act* of 1983; the development of policy guidance notes to aid in the planning process, specifically PPG 15, *Planning and the Historic Environment*; and two review periods – first, the *Review of Policies Relating the Historic Environment* and, second, the *Heritage Protection Review*. All four events triggered a wealth of published and unpublished responses. For all four time periods, I therefore conducted a thorough review of Internet sources and websites, archival deposits, Hansard records, internal reports and memos, recorded speeches and published policy documents. The direction of the review was guided by three inputs: my own knowledge of heritage management and the heritage sector in England; intensive internet and literature searches for information regarding heritage and cultural policy in England; and questions asked of interviewees for a list of policy documents and debates pertinent to the contemporary ‘heritage’ climate. These three avenues of exploration generated a body of material concerning ‘heritage’ in England that is impossible to quantify.

Arising out of the CDA framework overviewed earlier came the assumption that ‘discourse’ is manifest not only in the texts themselves, but in the discursive and social practices conditioned by those texts. As such, integral to the social practice of ‘heritage’ are the social actors that come to constitute knowledge, enact discourses and construct social roles, situations and identities (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 92). Documenting and recording an understanding of the roles played by social actors thus formed a second, and equally important, facet of the research. As van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 92) point out, discursive acts also ‘build’ or establish participant groupings or categories, including ‘the public’, ‘community groups’, ‘policy-makers’, ‘heritage professionals’, ‘the government’, ‘local populations’ and ‘experts’, to name a few. These constructions simultaneously form divisions between a series of them/us, we/you dichotomies, and likewise comprise for participants particular roles, such as affected, beneficiary, instigator and agent (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 93). In an arbitrary sense, I used the four categories most commonly found in policy documents from which to elucidate responses. These four categories are enumerated here with the corresponding participant roles devised by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999: 93) enclosed in brackets: (1) *policy-makers (instigators)*, (2) *those who inform policy (agents)*, (3) *those who implement policy (agents)* and

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(4) *those affected by policy (affected/beneficiaries)*. While I do not always subscribe to the roles assigned to each category (for example, those affected/beneficiaries), these are the roles most commonly associated with each group as found in policy. I have adopted these roles at this point because this thesis is as much about *testing* constructions in current policy as anything else. For this reason, I have taken these commonplace groupings as a starting point.

Each group is loosely defined in terms of their levels of autonomy within the policy process, with a focus on the interplay that takes places between them and constructions of 'heritage' within policy. This first methodological step must be coupled with a strategy capable of identifying the 'artefacts' that signify the meaning given to policy issues, such as emblematic issues, objects, acts or policy documents that reflect the meanings and interpretations each 'community' holds (Fischer 2003a: 147). Added to this comes the identification of relevant discourses and their manifestations *as communicated through* these artefacts, and finally, a recognition of the points of conflict – and their sources – that persist within the policymaking process (Fischer 2003a: 147). For instance, what is the nature of agency, power, control, identity and integration within each group? Does each group elicit understandings of 'heritage' that are at times separate and alien to that enshrined in policy? Are there 'scripts' assigned to each group that belie a hidden dimension of power within the dominant discourse of 'heritage', and if so, is this attributed a level of fixity?

#### *Policy-makers*

This grouping refers to the policy actors who function to resolve complex problems. Policy-makers thus belong to a set of practices charged with processing fragmentary and often contradictory statements so as to create "... *the sort of problem that institutions can handle and for which solutions can be found*" (Hajer 1995: 15). The end result is the reduction of these problems into a digestible frame for managing them. Within this 'community', a number of useful points of entry are possible that can allow for eliciting an understanding of the '*terms of policy discourse*' (Hajer 1995: 104). For instance, pinpointing the storylines and generative metaphors used to bring together a discourse coalition constitutes the first layer of policy discourse (Hajer 1995: 104). This is supplemented by policy vocabularies that work to position those involved, structuring a particular understanding of the problem that is consciously mediated by policy-makers (Hajer 1995: 104). Finally, the third layer revolves



around the epistemic figures and rules of formation that underpin the policies and practices within which discourses are produced (Hajer 1995: 103).

The research focuses upon the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), as this is the central governmental department responsible for dealing with heritage, which falls under the auspices of 'the historic environment'. Outside of the DCMS, there is no single 'heritage' department or agency in England; rather, it is managed as a collective effort by different departments. This conglomerate includes the Department of the Environment (DoE), the Department of Local Government, Transport and Regions (DTLR) and the Department of Communities and Local Government (DCLG), formerly known as the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM), all of which are involved in the generation of policy to some degree. The lead body in conjunction with these departments is English Heritage, the government's statutory adviser on heritage and the historic environment. As such, this thesis will take both the DCMS and English Heritage as the two key institutions for heritage in England. Those employed within both of these institutions take primacy within the interviewing process, although a number of interviews also took place with other institutions and organisations within the heritage sector, including the Council for British Archaeology, York Archaeological Trust, Heritage Link and the Local Heritage Initiative. Such 'artefacts' therefore include available policy documents from the above, such as: *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*; *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future*; *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment*; *Protecting our Historic Environment: Making the System Work Better* and *Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward*. In addition, internal policy documents and transcripts are analysed. This is supplemented with observation. It is clear from the above that the setting up of 'the terms of policy discourse' must draw heavily from the strong links between research and policymaking. Such interlinking leads to the introduction of those 'communities' who inform policy, and thus become, effectively, co-producers of policy. These communities become an additional dimension of the discourse coalition.

#### *Those Who Inform Policy*

'Those who inform policy' activate another level of the policymaking process, and draw in a sharper focus on the ways in which different groups within a discourse coalition are both enabled and constrained, taking as primary the merging of

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different knowledge elements into an authoritative narrative regarding 'heritage' (Hajer 1995: 46). Various groups, such as English Heritage, the Council for British Archaeology (CBA), the Institute of Field Archaeologists (IFA), the Department of Environment, Food and Rural Affairs, as well as various academics, experts and university departments fall into this 'community of meaning'. As such, ideas of discourse coalitions, storylines, discursive affinities, discursive interpellations and emblematic issues must take methodological front-seats in order to guide the research towards unpacking the importance of 'change' and 'permanence'. These two concepts unify to reveal the ways in which structured 'ways of seeing' take on naturalised and hidden characteristics that have a relative permanence, making it difficult to change the platform from which one speaks by disguising these 'ways of seeing' into the way one talks rather recognising them as 'moments of positioning' (Hajer 1995: 57).

#### *Those Who Implement Policy*

This 'community of meaning' carries the important ability to transform the conceptualisation of 'heritage' *into precisely those terms, meanings and concepts set down in policy documents*. However, while the actual creation of comprehensive discursive systems, such as policy documents and legislative devices, is essentially covered by 'policy-makers' and 'those who influence policy', this community additionally holds the potential to close the gap between policymaking and the public. A translation must occur at this juncture, in which accommodations need be made for a difference in discourse and a difference in people. The above considerations open up the possibility that the process of policymaking not only depicts, but also constructs, the 'heritage' issues at hand, and as these constructions begin to interact with everyday life, the site of conflict opens up. It is at this level that the relevance of the knowledge enshrined in policy and legislation is greeted with a serious authority on the meaning of 'heritage'. Incorporating this group or category required a close association with those within policy departments across a range of institutions and organisations. Primarily, these included the *Policy and Communications* and *Research and Standards* departments at English Heritage, the *Historic Environment Policy* and *Heritage Protection Review* departments with the DCMS, Policy Officers at the CBA and the Heritage Lottery Fund (HLF) and the Heritage Link.



*Those Affected By Policy*

The most important derivative of these policy communities is that group whose meanings are derived from lived experience with ‘heritage’. Certainly, the heritage literature resonates with assertions that policy exists *because* ‘heritage’ is valued (Lynott and Wylie 2000; Pearson and Sullivan 1995; Zimmerman 1998; Grenville 1999). Such discussions continuously reiterate perhaps the most vital point to keep in mind: that “... *there can only be one valid reason for conserving heritage: they are valued by elements of a community, by a whole community, or by our society as a whole*” (Pearson and Sullivan 1995: 17). In so doing, this reiteration explicitly recognises a local level that is only just finding its feet within current heritage literature. In contrast to the technical tools employed by policy-makers, those affected by policy often invoke a different sort of knowledge derived from an intimate familiarity and understanding of ‘heritage’: that evoked by everyday experience. This argument borrows from what Michael Billig (1995) calls ‘banal nationalism’ – and becomes what I term ‘banal heritage’ – which equates to those specific experiences, material objects and spaces that conjure up the idea of ‘heritage’ at the ‘everyday’ level, and thereby links institutional and theoretical dimensions to social and normative ones. It is important to note at this point that such a ‘community’ can never be considered heterogeneous, and is indeed made up of a multitude of different ways to view and interact with ‘heritage’. By introducing concepts of local and public ‘heritage’, it is also important to consider methodological applications appropriate for eliciting the meanings, values and understandings neglected by technical approaches (Yanow 2003: 238). This will largely be achieved through the application of Q Methodology.

*In-Depth Interviewing*

A primary means of contextualising the policy material analysed in this thesis was in-depth interviewing. This is a common method employed in social research (Rubin and Rubin 1995; Seale 1998: 202 – see also Fontana and Frey 1998; Gubrium and Holstein 2002; Marvasti 2004). The interview undertaken formed part of an important process used to illuminate and interpret a range of policy documents, memos, reports and Acts of legislation. They were also utilised in conjunction with Q Methodology (see Chapter 4). A total of 34 interviews were undertaken, and the selection of these participants was based upon their knowledge and experience in the heritage sector. The interviewees were mainly white middle-class professionals working within a range of heritage organisations and institutions (see Figure 3.1, **Appendix 3**). They offered a variety of political affiliations and a



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range of roles within the management process, drawing from policy-makers, researchers, conservation officers, outreach officers and Inspectors of Ancient Monuments within English Heritage, research and policy officers with DCMS, a journalist, a researcher with IPPR (a New Labour think tank), a policy officer from the CBA, a community archaeologist with YAT, Secretary for Heritage Link, and a range of professionals affiliated with UNESCO.<sup>9</sup> I make no claims that this sample represents the composition of the heritage sector. Rather, it was constrained by time, availability and other practicalities, including travel, cost and timetabling.

The interviews undertaken were based on an interview or topic guide consisting of a series of questions revolving around key themes, and unfolded with the aid of informal probing, which was used to generate a discussion around issues *important to the participant* with regard to heritage policy. Each interview was undertaken individually, with the exception of two occasions on which interviewees shared a period of overlap. Importantly, each interviewee was encouraged to talk around similar issues in accordance with the topic guide, and subsequently, the interviews became a process of data generation that was co-produced. Working to the same range of guiding questions enabled each interview to negotiate around the same, standard topics without limiting participants to prescriptive answers. Within each interview, I utilised the ‘snowball effect’, devised to allow participant responses to lead me backwards, forwards and sideways through the prepared questions so as to create as complete a picture as possible regarding the discursive affinities, storylines, interpellations, coalitions, formations and constructions as possible. In some instances, particular questions were overlooked, while in others, several variations of the same question were revisited in order to elicit more nuanced responses. Over the course of the research period, this ranged between person-centred interviewing, observation and general conversation, and allowed a fuller sense of the policy process to develop. At the same time, it provided firm material with which to supplement the observations and interpretation arising out CDA. Indeed, as Wetherell and Potter (1992: 99) point out, in these situations the interview itself becomes a social interaction in its own right. The interview process followed a non-directive approach, thereby passing control to the participant to impart information in a way that made sense to them, while also attempting to capture the consonances, conflicts and various transformations that occurred in a

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<sup>9</sup> The majority of interviews took place with employees of English Heritage (see **Appendix 3**), which has had an acknowledged affect on the variability of interview data drawn upon within the case-study chapters.



variety of discursive settings (Levy and Hollon 1998: 359). At the same time, I attempted to play quite an active role in each interview by revisiting difficult questions, offering counter-arguments and examples, and probing areas that elicited emotional or animated responses from participants. As such, the research occupied a variety of positions along a continuum, moving from unstructured to structured. According to the different situations and types of information required, this movement was not unidirectional, and responded to the opportunities presented. Likewise, the *spaces* between the interviewer and interviewee prompt the stage at which analysis takes place: for example, in semi-structured interviews, the analytic decisions take place during and after the data collection, allowing it to become an intuitive process (Gomm 2004: 185). Through what amounted to a series of ‘guided conversations’ (Devine 1995: 198), I wanted to unpack how different groups gain a position from which it becomes possible to ensure a lasting discourse, and how others are denied such access (Farnell and Graham 1998: 413). The overall aim of these questions was to burrow beneath apparent commonsense assumptions and arrive at a deeper understanding (Wainwright 1997: 3). The topic guide used for this research is included in **Appendix 2**. Finally, each interview was recorded and transcribed in its entirety, including what Wetherell and Potter (1992: 100) refer to as informal ‘back channels’ of *um*, *yeah*, *ok* and *hmmm*, speech errors and pauses. Where requested, the typed transcripts were sent to participants for their perusal and comment.

### *Observation*

A second means of contextualising the textual material and the Q sorts used for analysis was observation (see Denzin and Lincoln 1994, 1998; Dewalt *et al.* 1998; Delamont 2004), which itself was used to contextualise the interview material gathered. Observations took place during all interviews and throughout the process of almost all Q sorts. It was in these contexts, which were situations within which people were encouraged to think about ‘heritage’ issues, that related beliefs and assumptions emerged. This allowed insight not only into *what* people said, but *how* they said it, and how they negotiated their understandings. Through this suite of methodologies (textual analysis, Q Methodology and in-depth interviewing), a complex of data material became available that I could draw upon to weave together a salient picture of the discursive constructions of heritage.

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## AXIOLOGICAL ISSUES AND CRITICAL REFLEXIVITY

As a starting point, each interview was undertaken on the premise of informed consent, such that each interviewee was given an overview of the research prior to agreeing to participate. This consent was then reiterated at the start of each interview, and agreements drawn up in terms of those wanting to *see* and *vet* the information before submission. In an introductory article dealing with qualitative research, Fine *et al.* (2003: 198–201; see also Adkins 2002; Breuer *et al.* 2002) draw attention to a number of questions that are pertinent to the ethical dimensions of a research project. These are:

1. *'Have I connected the 'voices' and 'stories of individuals back to the set of historical, structural and economic relations in which they are situated?'*
2. *'Have I deployed multiple methods so that very different kinds of analyses can be constructed?'*
3. *'Have I described the mundane?'*
4. *'Have some informants/constituencies/participants reviewed the material with me and interpreted, dissented, challenged my interpretations? And then how do I report these departures/agreements in perspective?'*
5. *'How far do I want to go with respect to theorizing the words of informants?'*
6. *'Have I considered how these data could be used for progressive, conservative, repressive social policies?'*
7. *'Where have I backed into the passive voice and decoupled my responsibility for my interpretations?'*
8. *'Who am I afraid will see the analyses? Who is rendered vulnerable/responsible or exposed by these analyses? Am I willing to show him/her/them the text before publication? If not, why? Could I publish his/her/their comments as an epilogue? What is the fear?'*
9. *'To what extent has my analyses offered an alternative to the 'commonsense' or dominant discourse? What challenges might very different audiences pose to the analysis presented?'*

These questions have provided an ethical checklist for this thesis and a fundamental guide for each research encounter. This requires the importation of that crucial dilemma: critical self-reflection. Of the methodologies reviewed in this chapter, the textual dimensions of CDA offered the least confronting encounter, with the negotiations undertaken in the process of in-depth interviewing providing the most arduous. This latter experience, much as Thrift (2003: 106) points out, was a powerful mix of intimidation, insecurity, frustration and uncertainty on the one hand, and enjoyment, amusement and insight on the other. While on many occasions it was quite a straightforward process, on others it was a profoundly emotional experience, both for interviewee and interviewer. This requires that the role of the researcher becomes part and parcel of the setting and context within which the study takes place, thus introducing issues of representation, interpretation, voice, and reporting from a variety of vantage points (Altheide and



Johnson 1998: 286; Pyett 2003: 1171). Such critical self-appraisal inevitably moves any methodology beyond the discussion of ethnographies, observations and fieldwork in a purely practical sense and incorporates the transformations, discoveries, conflicts and dilemmas that occur *within the researcher* at every aspect of analysis.

### CONCLUSION

The aim of this chapter has been to introduce the philosophical, theoretical and methodological underpinnings that guide the approach taken to heritage policy in this thesis. In particular, an overview of Critical Realism and Critical Discourse Analysis was offered. As well, this chapter has reflected upon the datasets and ethical considerations bound up with research of this kind. The discussions and justifications presented drew from diverse arguments originating in the wider social sciences, which are united through two central assumptions. The first of these is the assumption of a disjuncture between discourse and reality. This asserts that discourse is not simply a neutral and straightforward description of reality, but both constitutes, and is conditioned by, reality. While this focus on discourse is not new for the social sciences, it does highlight the salience of language for heritage management and public policy, an area of research that is significantly underplayed in Heritage Studies. The second assumption that ties CR and CDA with the wider project of this thesis lies with their insistence on materiality, or the material consequences of discourse. This caveat requires an acknowledgement of the social and ideological affects of discourses, through their pursuance and legitimisation within society. The critical gaze offered by this underpinning allows for the closer inspection of the discursive texturing of heritage policy with an emphasis on unpacking the unique structuring of different perspectives within the policy process. How, for example, do specific constructions of 'heritage' reach a position of dominance? How is that dominance linguistically and socially realised? And importantly, how is that dominance challenged and resisted?

While the coupling of CR with CDA has provided a useful philosophical and theoretical framework, CDA has also been seen to extend a detailed methodological approach. The collection of clues offered within the semantic, grammatical and lexical choices contained within a text can be revealed, explored and critiqued using the range of insights offered by CDA. Based upon the dialectical relationship between language and society, these choices can also be explored in order to make

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interpretations about society as well. An important facet of the methodological approach was seen to lie with the specific definition of discourse adopted by CDA, which envisages a sense of discourse 'in action', cognisant in terms of texts, discursive practices and social practices. The terminology and concepts thereby employed are essential resources for unpacking and investigating real language data.

The dataset generated for this thesis is a product of a combined approach that included in-depth interviewing, observation and archival research. All three of these approaches were briefly examined in this chapter and were shown to be relevant and useful ways of accumulating the sorts of data considered susceptible to CDA, Q Methodology and further interpretative analysis. Finally, this generation of material was balanced against the ethical considerations guiding this thesis. The next chapter will advance the idea of discourse identified here with the additional methodological rigour offered by Q Methodology, a tool utilised to map and interpret a range of perspectives regarding 'heritage'. The multi-method combination of linguistic-led policy analysis with qualitative techniques of in-depth interviewing and observation is thrown into sharper relief with the addition of a methodology that can both qualitatively and quantitatively identify such a range of discourses.



## ‘HERITAGE’ REVEALED

### The application of Q Methodology

#### INTRODUCTION: REDEFINING ‘HERITAGE’ THROUGH SUBJECTIVITY

As discussed in Chapter 2, the idea of debating the meaning of heritage, in terms of its nature, definition, value and construction, is almost entirely absent from the literature dealing with heritage and its management in England. Certainly, it has been lacking from discussions concerned with the policies that attempt to deal with heritage issues. This omission has important consequences for the work I have undertaken in this thesis so far, which has rested on the proposition that heritage is entirely caught up in the language we use to talk and write about it, and thus is negotiated, produced and constructed, rather than a predetermined, pre-existent ‘thing’. Indeed, I have argued that it is something continuously remade and remembered, and in that process of (re)creation it is called upon to do social, emotional, cultural and political work. From this, heritage ceases to be about the discovery of a tangible, physical past, and becomes instead an attempt to map, often *through* physicality but not always, a sense of belonging, inclusion and connection (Till 2005: 14; Smith 2006). This mapping traces different structures of meaning, allowing for the recognition of a range of values and understandings of heritage.

While the shift in focus this proposition initiates is theoretically complex, in this chapter I want to simplify things for the moment, and characterise the transition I am proposing in terms of objectivity versus subjectivity. The purpose of this chapter, then, is to de-naturalise the idea of an objective understanding of heritage as defined by the dominant heritage discourse, and introduce more nuanced understandings of heritage. Moreover, I want to suggest that the meanings of heritage, to borrow from Carrier (2005: 32), are “... *not set in stone*,

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*but var[y] according to subjective criteria*". This finds a degree of synergy with sentiments expressed by Lowenthal (1998b: 9), who questions the relevance of the claim that heritage fails "... *to abide by the tenets of historical evidence*". Like Lowenthal, I am not sure that this criticism matters. If we assume that the meaning of heritage lies not *in things and objects*, but in the contextual interactions, engagements and effects of heritage as embodied processes, then heritage becomes fluid and subject to change. It becomes something that is subjectively encountered, rather than something contained within an objective, physical and material reality, or pinned down by criteria of age, rarity or beauty.

The argument advanced in this chapter, however, is not tied solely to developing a redefinition of heritage through subjectivity; I am also seeking to make a case for my argument that there exists a dominant discourse. As such, while I want to analyse the argumentative textures that surround heritage, I also want to extract accounts of the ways in which these *different* storylines find consensus, and the degree of difference that lies in and between each of them. The suite of theoretical and methodological tools provided by CDA addresses this, but I want to go further in naming, defining and revealing the power and work of the dominant discourse. For this, I have turned to Q Methodology, a diagnostic tool originally developed in psychology (Stephenson 1953; Brown 1997: 2; Brown *et al.* 1999), which I propose offers a means to recognise and define a fuller range of perspectives regarding heritage. As a scoping exercise, it aims to recognise both 'natural' and 'dominant' definitions of heritage, alongside marginalised, subordinated, obfuscated and excluded discourses that attempt to compete with those dominant perspectives. An important distinction I am attempting to flag up here borrows from Smith's (2006, see also Eidson's 2005; Kelly 2006: 36) observation that the 'official' history or notion of heritage is itself unlikely to be a unitary and singular understanding. Thus, in effect, the authorised heritage discourse will be offered in a variety of guises and permutations. How it transforms itself, according to a range of different contexts and frames of reference, is similarly important. Drawing on arguments advanced by Fiske (1989: 2), the need to employ this methodology rests with the idea that there will *always* be elements of heritage that are constructed in ways that are only tangentially related to that which we anticipate, and thus there will always be elements of surprise. Q Methodology presents a mechanism by which



to trace those ‘quieter’ voices, and unpack a fuller picture of the complex weave of meanings and interpretations regarding heritage, *even though* these storylines may be obscured or foreclosed by discourses that are more dominant.

In overview, this chapter presents a mapping of the different discourses that will be used to inform the rest of the thesis. It offers a preliminary analysis of these discourses, and draws on a sample of people from English Heritage, DCMS, community groups, academic institutions and a range of heritage organisations. This sample includes all of those interviewed for the thesis, as well as a large collection of participants drawn from a range of heritage institutions, organisations and community groups. This analysis attempts to identify the clustering of perspectives as a signal for competing heritage discourses, and will use the resultant clusters as a fabric for weaving together a more comprehensive overview of the social practice of heritage and its attendant orders of discourse. To do this, I will first identify the fundamental assumptions and concepts that underpin Q Methodology. Second, I will explain the methods of design I used to construct this particular application of Q Methodology, and define in more detail the representativeness of the samples used. Finally, I will examine the results of this undertaking, and use it to map and interpret the various heritage discourses. In particular, this final stage will examine the proposition of this thesis – that a dominant heritage discourse exists, which competes with a range of alternative and subaltern perspectives.

### **UNDERSTANDING LANGUAGE GAMES: THE FUNDAMENTALS OF ‘Q’**

An introduction to the theory of CDA revealed that the semiotic element of any social practice is complex, and therefore what is needed is a tool capable of making some sort of ‘sense’ out of that complexity. In accepting that discourse is a “... *shared way of apprehending the world*” (Dryzek 1997: 8), or a “... *specific ensemble of ideas, concepts, and categorisations that are produced, reproduced, and transformed in a particular set of practices and through which meaning is given to physical and social realities*” (Hajer 1995: 44), finding that tool becomes quite a challenge. To answer that search, I have drawn upon Q Methodology as a means of unpacking the content of the communicative terrain that surrounds heritage. Largely due to the flexibility of Q Methodology, this approach promises to provide the scope for openness and intuition on the part of the researcher, while also inviting subjects to express themselves in the initial stages.

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As Hall (1997: 3) points out, a ‘thing’, in itself, will rarely have one fixed meaning. What *it* means will vary according to different circumstances: how it is consumed, used, expressed or appropriated, and, importantly, who is doing ‘the doing’ (Hall 1997: 3). Following this, any meaning of heritage will be mediated through the perspectives of different people, and in large part is contingent upon the ways in which heritage is incorporated in their everyday lives. As such, while the point has been made in previous chapters that attempts to regulate heritage will produce distinct sets of rules, norms and practices, so too will the production and consumption of heritage (Hall 1997: 4). Different mentalities of heritage, be they regulatory, productive or consumed, are thus recognisable in the ways in which people interpret heritage that surrounds them, and piece together a coherent story or account that makes sense to them (Dryzek 1997: 8). However, people imagining and interpreting heritage through different discourses would “... *likely talk past one another because, quite literally, they speak different languages and use incommensurable metaphors*” (Dermitt 1994: 163). As well, the ways in which I understand heritage also dictate the ways in which I comprehend – or, alternatively, have difficulty comprehending – those discourses that other people subscribe to (Dryzek 1997: 8). This is where Q Methodology becomes a useful tool. In contrast to CDA, which is used to reveal the underlying assumptions made by people and organisations, I employ Q Methodology simply to provide the problem identification toolkit for setting up further discourse-analytical discussions. Thus, the methodologies in tandem provide a more comprehensive approach, allowing a move towards explicitly unearthing (Q Methodology) and understanding (CDA) the various discursive constructions.

With a central aim of unpacking apparently intuitively obvious constructs, including value judgements, motives and meanings, struggles between competing ideologies and power relations (Butteriss *et al.* 2001: 51), Q Methodology fulfils an important diagnostic function: it isolates discourse groupings, thereby allowing heritage to be seen through a number of eyes. It thus becomes more than simply an ‘either/or’ situation, in which Smith’s characterisation of the AHD is polarised against a critical reaction. This is achieved by the revelation of multiple areas of consensus and contention, thereby gaining a better grasp of the depth and breadth of the issues under scrutiny (Stainton Rogers 1995: 183;



Addams and Proops 2000a: 5). In short, Q offers a means by which to transgress the sanctified boundaries imposed between a hegemonic discourse and a range of alternative positions. This is because it accepts, as Capdevila (1998: 2) points out, that these:

*... boundaries can be set up in a number of different locations to narrate manifold understandings of a particular event, even putting into question the boundaries around the event itself ... These boundaries, between sameness and difference, are represented textually or discursively, and from this perspective their creation and transgression are seen to serve a purpose in a discursive framework to bolster or undermine particular arguments.*

However, in order to illustrate this diagnostic function, it is first necessary to explore the development of Q Methodology.

Q Methodology was first developed in psychology during the 1930s by William Stephenson (1902–1989), in what Brown *et al.* (1999: 614) refer to as the “... context of factor-analytical developments”. It has application today in a number of disciplines, including environmental studies (Barry and Proops 1999; Kalof 1997; Addams and Proops 2000b), marketing and consumerism (Mosyagine *et al.* 1997; Sylvester 2000), identity studies (Barchak 2004; Thomas *et al.* 2004), public policy (Steelman 2000; Dayton 2000; Day 2004; Nobbie 2004), medicine (Barbosa *et al.* 1998; Stenner *et al.* 2003) and education (Thomas 1999; Rahman 2004), although it is primarily associated with the field of political science (Brown 1980: 5; Brown 1993: 1). As R. Stainton Rogers (1997/1998: 20) lamented, it has much in common with work emerging from Cultural Studies, Anthropology and Sociology, despite its virtual invisibility in these areas. Loosely, it can be defined as a survey-based procedure, but it is a radical counterpart – indeed, described by Stephenson as an inversion of – traditional survey-based research methods collectively labelled R methodologies (Stephenson 1935a–c; see **Appendix 4**). Subsequently, Q Methodology has been implicated in the objective/subjective dichotomies characteristic of much debate surrounding research techniques and methodologies. At a base level, these debates revolve around a concern with the existence of either a singular data matrix, typically associated with objective tests (R), or that of two separate matrices, one containing objective measures and the other containing subjective measures (Q) (Brown 1993: 3). The former concerns itself with breaking ‘wholes’ into ‘parts’, while the later aims at “... *keeping parts together in their interrelations*”

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(Brown 1993: 3; Curt 1994: 119). Moreover, while an R study requires participants to make judgements against "... *pre-specified independent categories deemed relevant by the researcher(s)*", a Q analysis encourages participants to "... *speak for themselves*" (Addams and Proops 2000a: 1). In this way, R methodologies typically appeal to worldviews inspired by neo-positivism, and have thus enjoyed a pronounced dominance in scientific enquiry (Brown 1993: 5). By contrast, Q Methodology aspires towards a fundamentally different philosophical underpinning that prioritises the individual's point of view and, as such, attempts to look for patterns within and across individuals, rather than across variables (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 50; Addams 2000: 15; Amin 2000: 411). As Stainton Rogers (1995: 180) points out, the participants do not absorb the central focus of this approach; rather, it is the perspectives they offer, or the *constructions* themselves, that are of interest here. Likewise, Cordingly *et al.* (1997: 55) argue that with an emphasis on indirect measurability across scale, R Methodologies, by implication, also predetermine what is to be included and what a response might mean. One strength of Q Methodology lies in its attempts to *avoid* the excessive influences of the researcher, without making claims of objectivity (Cordingley *et al.* 1997: 56).

While Q Methodology undoubtedly finds synergy with the overall aims of this thesis, its overwhelming strength lies in its ability to generate a feel for the discourses and ideas that surround heritage (Amin 2000: 411, see also Brown 1991a). Moreover, it can be used to address politico-ideological – that is, *critical* – questions (W. Stainton Rogers 1997/1998: 12). Understanding what heritage *means* to different people, and the narratives they subscribe to, helps to shape and structure the arguments I want to develop in this thesis. Q provides an effective means of measuring participants' subjective attitudes through a process in which the participants do the measuring *themselves*, rather than *being* measured (Addams 2000: 17–18). It is explanatory, rather than evidentiary, allowing respondents to speak for themselves rather than filter their responses through the preconceptions of the researcher (although complete separation from the research is impossible) (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 49 – see also Frocht and Lawler 2000: 116). As Sullivan *et al.* (1990: 3, cited in Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 49) point out:



*The problem lies in investigating concepts in a particular way, by operationalizing them in an a priori manner than can severely and arbitrarily restrict the domain within which people can respond. Given this **modus operandi**, investigators are not likely to learn much from the subjects of their inquiry other than whether people generally respond as predicted by researchers' hunches or theories. A richer process of learning and discovery by truly **listening** to respondents' views is precluded [emphasis in original].*

The fundamental heart of Q Methodology finds illustration through the concepts of *operant subjectivity* and *self-reference*.

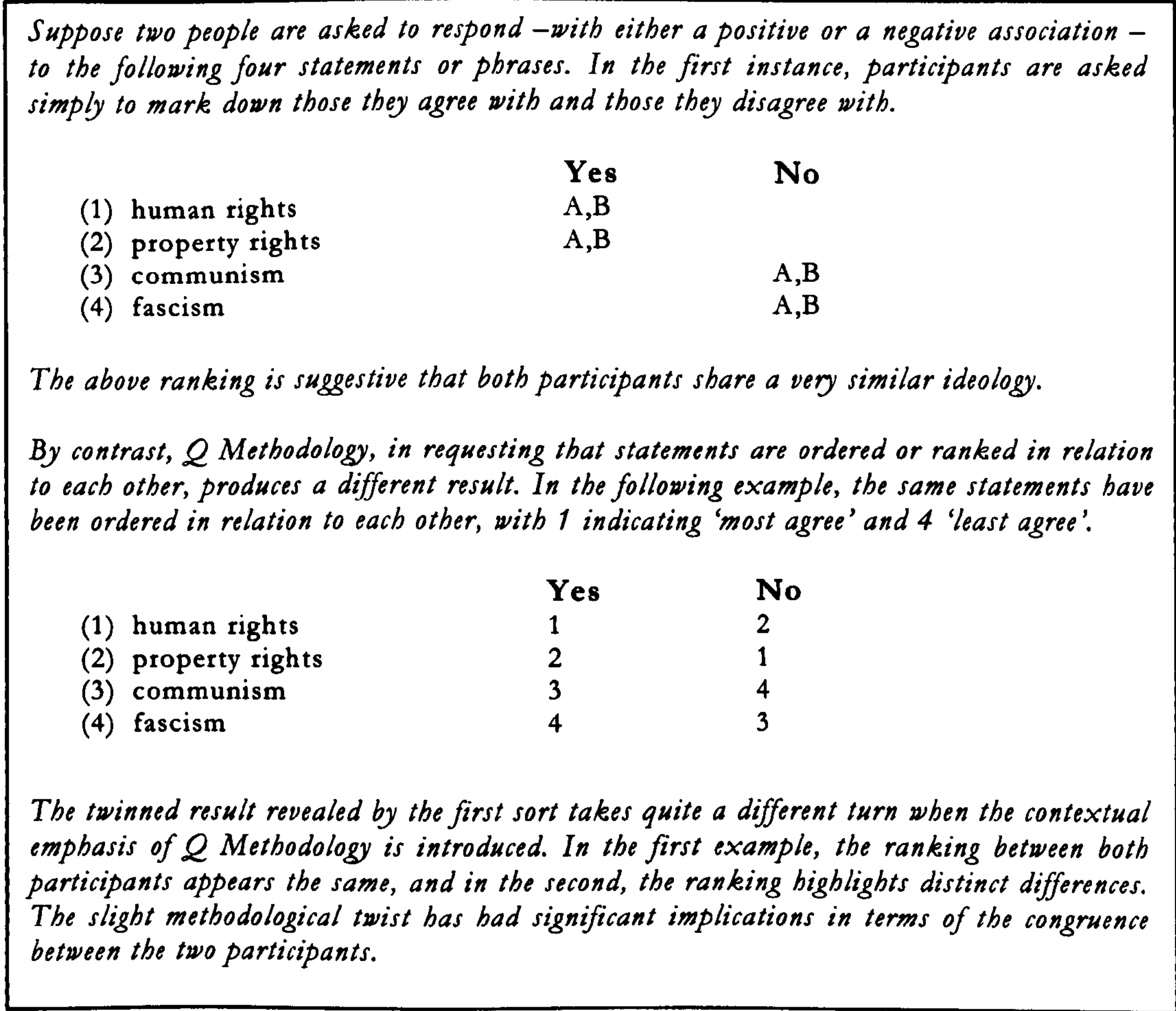
### *Operant Subjectivity*

Operant subjectivity arises out of the premise that every person will bring both a subjective and operant viewpoint to a particular issue, and will bring with them ideas and assumptions that are situationally, contextually and historically informed (Addams 2000: 17). Q Methodology takes as primary the 'operant' and seeks to ascertain that operant's viewpoint on an issue (Brown 1980: 4, see also Stephenson 1977). Subjectivity, then, refers to opinions, meanings, values and beliefs that characterise, colour, or 'breathe life into' any number of concepts, actions or events. In short, it is the attribution of meaning. Brown (1980: 6) draws parallels between this concept of operant subjectivity and Wittgenstein's (1971: 2.1, 2.12, cited in Brown 1980: 6) argument that "... *we picture facts to ourselves, our pictures being models of reality as we see it*". Subsequently, a Q-sort offers a representation of that picture of reality (Brown 1980: 6). In a sense, operant subjectivity dictates a process of analysis that is effectively the reverse of that proposed by R methodologies: in the latter, opinions are elicited against a predetermined concept, whereas the former begins with opinions from which both anticipated and unanticipated concepts emerge (Addams 2000: 17).

### *Self-Reference*

It is argued that a person's subjectivity, as defined above, will be attainable through communication, and that appropriate techniques are plausible for best extracting a "... *person's own subjective point of view*" (Addams 2000: 18). This emphasis on subjectivity also calls for an accommodation of context (Addams 2000: 18). Understanding subjectivity thus revolves around a need to also understand the relative *importance* different issues have for a person. The assumption here is that while particular issues may be vocalised in a similar way,

the meanings underpinning those vocalisations may be directed by different motives and underlying assumptions. Thus, while various people may *appear* to share a way of seeing heritage, in truth they may be addressing different meanings and understandings. In this way, the same words, phrases and expressions contained *within* the discourses of heritage may mean different things to different people: it is always context dependent (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993). This framework of contextual flexibility developed by Q practitioners extends to recognising the possibility of disjuncture, such that the entire spread of statements is only understood within the whole context of the study (Addams 2000: 18). In other words, a Q study presents a focused illustration of discourses *only through* the relation each statement has against the other statements in a sort, such that each statement ceases to make analytical sense in isolation from the other statements (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 23 – see Figure 4.1 for an illustration of this argument).



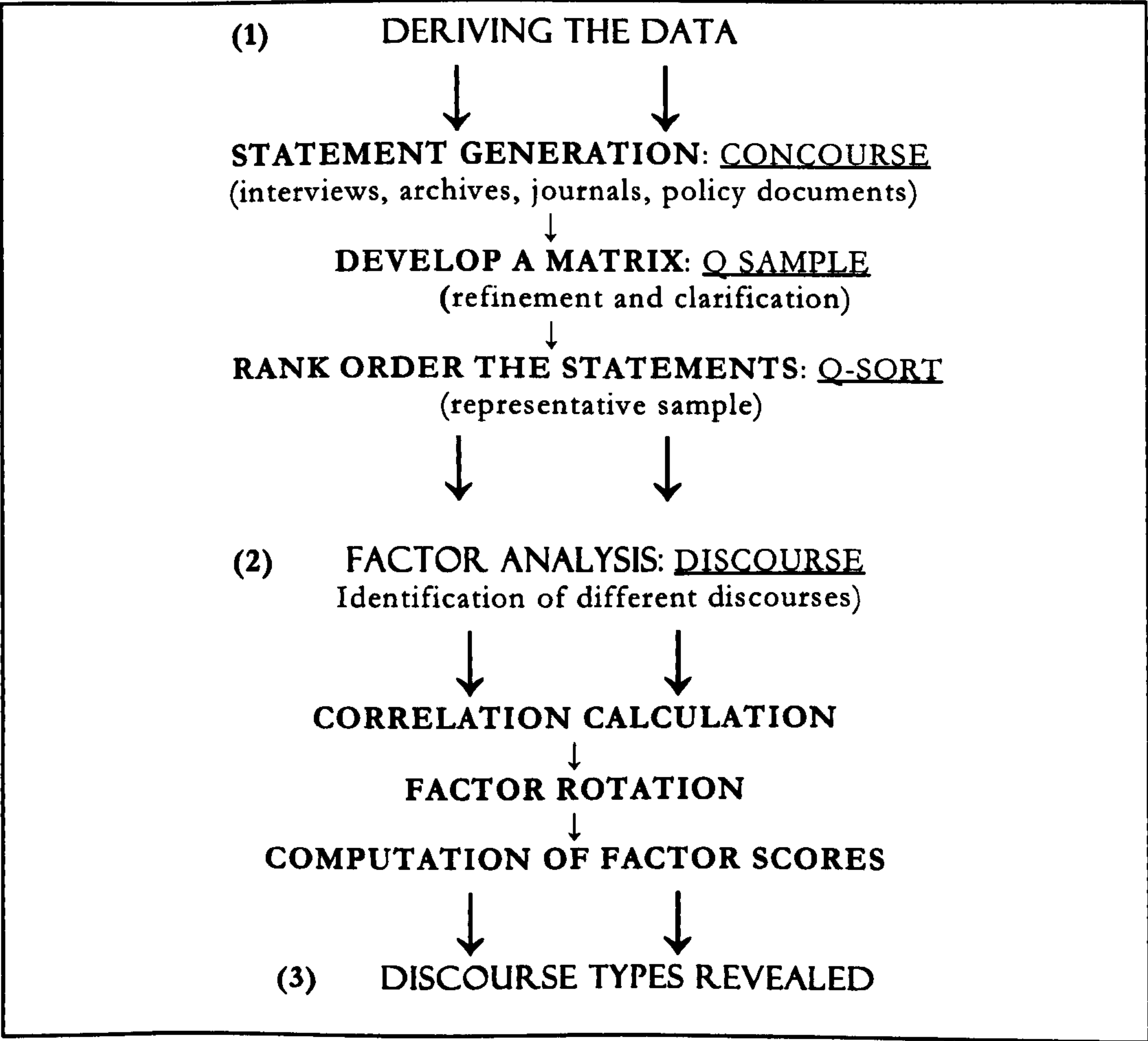
**Figure 4.1:** Q Methodology and the Contextualisation of Choice (adapted from McKeown and Thomas 1988: 24)



In this example, the results obtained from the ranking of statements *vis-à-vis* each other (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 24) can be seen to offer greater distinctions between the ideological approaches of the two participants.

**FACTORS OF DISCOURSE: Q IN ACTION**

Essentially, the Q process can be broken down into three stages of analysis: deriving the data upon which the study will be based; factor analysing the collected data; and examining and interpreting the extracted ‘factors’ or discourses. Each stage has its own sequences of events that must be fulfilled before moving into the next stage (see Figure 4.2). The sequence begins with the assembly of a communication concourse (Stephenson 1978, see also Brown 1991b), or the generation of statements, used to express or portray the diversity of perspectives regarding heritage. The gathering together of this volume of discussion can be achieved by a number of means, *naturalistic*, *ready-made* and *hybrid*, all of which attempt to generate ‘the very stuff of life’ in order to make up a concourse (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 25).



**Figure 4.2:** The Q Methodology Sequence (derived from Amin 2000: 411)

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All three aim to gather hundreds of statements so as to encompass a comprehensive sample of those perspectives, but do so using slightly different means (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 50; Barry and Proops 1999: 340; van Eeten 2000: 47). I have favoured the hybrid approach, drawing my concourse of statements from both written and oral interviewing, and the collection of statements from secondary sources such as newspaper and magazine articles, journals, advocacy papers, reports, Internet discussion forums, website home pages, monographs, policy documents, dictionaries and television documentaries (Grosswiler 1992). An important point to note here is that it is the conceptual *breadth* that is striven for, not the ingenuity of the statement itself. For example, if one is interested in technological issues, then the technologically weighted statements will factor highly regardless of the guise they take (Brown 1996a: 01.50).

The hybrid sourcing method amassed a range of arguments and positions pertaining to heritage. The statements generated fell into the hundreds, and it was not immediately clear what could be drawn out of the concourse – a point that usually only becomes explicit after the study (Brown 1996b: 09.40). Discourses predicted at the start of this project were immediately discernable in the concourse, but a strength of Q Methodology lies also with its ability to reveal discourses that are neither anticipated nor composite of these anticipations (Brown 1996b: 12.46). This concourse of statements must then be reduced into a manageable sample, ensuring that a balanced, appropriate and applicable range of statements remains, and can reasonably be argued to ‘represent’ the overall concourse (Addams 2000: 20). While this needs to be done with an element of randomness, a completely random reduction runs the risk of inadvertently under- or over-exposing a particular discourse (McKeown and Thomas 1998: 28; Brown 1996c; Addams 2000: 20). With this in mind, I opted for a semi-structured reduction. Drawing from Dryzek and Berejikian (1993: 52), this was achieved using a cell-structured basis for selecting statements. A  $4 \times 4$ , 16-cell ‘concourse matrix’ was used to sample the statements by both ‘type’ and ‘element’ (see also Barry and Proops 1999: 341):



Table 4.1: From ‘Concourse’ to ‘Matrix’

Discourse Element	Type of Claim
<i>Ontology</i>	<i>Definitive</i>
<i>Agency</i>	<i>Designative</i>
<i>Motivation</i>	<i>Evaluative</i>
<i>Natural/unnatural relationships</i>	<i>Advocative</i>

Utilising the above matrix cell, the concourse was reduced to 64 statements (see **Appendix 5**), ensuring that each of the above types and elements were evenly represented in the resultant Q-sort pack (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 51; Corrs 2001: 294). With 16 different combinations of ‘type’ and ‘element’ being sorted, I was able to include within my 64-statement pack four of each combination.

Table 4.2: The Matrix Cell for sampling the concourse  
(Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 51)

Discourse Element				
Type of Claim	<i>Ontology</i>	<i>Agency</i>	<i>Motivations</i>	<i>Natural</i>
<i>Definitive</i>	1	2	3	4
<i>Designative</i>	5	6	7	8
<i>Evaluative</i>	9	10	11	12
<i>Advocative</i>	13	14	15	16

The Q-sort pack (or set) is then used in an exercise in which participants are invited to sort the 64 statements according to how strongly they agree or disagree with them, using a thirteen-point scale ranging from +6 to –6, with the former representing ‘strongly agree’ and the latter ‘strongly disagree’ (Barry and Proops 1999: 340). The ranking process is called Q-sorting, and requires the distribution of the 64 statements into a particular shape – a quasi-normal pyramid shape in line with the specifications of the associated software package (PQ Method 2.12). What results from this ordering is called a ‘Q-sort’, and this is what is used to ‘represent’ the participant’s individual understanding of a particular reality (Dryzek 1990: 176). The resultant distribution is symmetrical about the middle, requiring that fewer statements are ranked at the extremes, where finer distinctions are needed to decide between the statements (see **Appendix 4**).

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To begin the *sorting* process, participants are encouraged to quickly read all 64 statements and sort them into three instinctive piles: those they disagree with, those they feel neutral about and those with which they agree. Each pile is then sorted through more carefully, this time with the aim of ranking statements against each other and working towards building the above distribution. This teases out a holistic picture that actively incorporates the interdependence of all elements captured in the statements (Addams 2000: 23). The very act of sorting the statements relationally into the above 'sort' reveals the participants' own understanding of the topic being researched (Durning 1999: 404). In identifying how an individual understands heritage in relation with how *other* individuals make sense of it, Q Methodology is thus able to identify or draw out a cluster of common views or 'ways of seeing' (Durning 1999:405). During the sorting process, dialogue was encouraged between the participant and myself, as an aid for understanding the perspectives and decisions being made by those completing the sort (see Brown *et al.* 1999: 601).

While the 'forced-free' approach outlined above has received criticism in terms of the enforced parameters of the statements used and a potential loss of statistical information (for discussions and disputations of these criticisms, see Brown 1971, 1985), it is a methodological move that offers substantial justifications for the type of research at issue here. Moreover, as Brown *et al.* (1999: 624) point out, this insistence of conforming to a particular shape actually has negligible implications for the results, whereas it can have considerably positive pragmatic consequences. While participants are required to rank statements into a predetermined shape (forced), they are able to see this process through according to their own views (free). In this sense, the 'forced', or artificial, aspect is minimal, and gives way to a greater sense of consideration on the part of the participant by virtue of her or his own ability to define meaning along the continuum (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 34). Indeed, it is this forced-free aspect that enabled the methodological manoeuvrability illustrated in Figure 4.1 earlier in this chapter. Finally, however, it is not an absolute requirement; rather, it is a tool used to encourage participants to consider all statements systematically (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 34).

A wide variety of Q-sorts need to be collected before proceeding to the correlation and factor analysis stages of the methodology, and this variety will



depend upon the careful selection of participants (Stephenson 1967: 20; Brown *et al.* 1999: 601). While I have carefully selected a number of participants for this study, I have also bowed to the convenience of pragmatic influence. In terms of selection, I have attempted to incorporate those participants I expect will 'epitomise' a discourse, or those who have a self-identified interest in heritage issues and/or represent interest groups, including those that are traditionally associated with heritage issues, such as archaeologists, architects, conservation officers and policy officers. Expertise and experience therefore played a role in arbitrating those selected. As each interviewee also carried out a Q-sort, the target population by necessity included a number of heritage professionals working within the public policy process, both nationally and internationally. My primary targets were those working within English Heritage and the DCMS, the lead organisations in terms of the two reviews of heritage policy central to this thesis. As a supplement, I also canvassed those organisations that fed into those review processes through consultation, including the HLF, the CBA, YAT, Heritage Link and county councils. On a pragmatic level, I also selected in terms of availability, with the ultimate aim of allowing for different aspects of interest and a fuller range of perspectives (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 37; Stainton Rogers 1991: 138; Brown 1996c). Subsequently, I approached people at a range of heritage conferences and within academic institutions, including students, lecturers and visiting scholars. In this sense, Q Methodology is able to satisfy criteria of representativeness both in terms of stimulus sampling (with reference to the concurrence of statements and resultant Q-set) and person sampling (Brown *et al.* 1999: 623).

Importantly, however, the subject-selection for this thesis stuck closely to the premise that *'why'* should carry the most relevance, rather than *how many*, thus drawing from the maxim that 'it is more important to study one subject for 1,000 hours than 1,000 subjects for one hour' (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 36). This is a deliberate inversion of traditional data collection techniques that tend towards 'random' and 'representative' sampling in which validity corresponds in part to the number of respondents included. Self-reference, and 'life as lived from the standpoint of the person living it', while typically passed over by traditional data collection, becomes precisely the motivator around which Q is designed (Brown 1996c: 561). Thus, while *'one can never claim that one's subjects are statistically representative of some larger population'*, as stated by Dryzek and Berejikian (1993: 51),

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it is possible to secure a confidence in the representativeness of the results, such that any discourse:

*... will generally prove a genuine representation of that discourse as it exists within a larger population of persons; and this is the kind of generalisation in which we are interested (Dryzek and Berejikian 1993: 52).*

The analysis of the collected Q-sorts requires the sequential application of statistical procedures that aim to reveal 'self-significance' or 'what is important to me' by means of correlation calculation, factor rotation and the computation of factor scores (Addams 2000: 23). These statistical steps are largely carried out with the aid of computer software packages, of which PQ Method 2.11 has been selected here. PQ Method 2.11 is a statistical program that easily allows for the entering of Q-sorts and provides the flexibility to input data using a quasi-normal pyramidal distribution shape of varying sizes (Addams 2000: 23; Schmolck 2002: 1). The program itself is capable of doing the essential – and intensive – computation processes automatically, but these remain 'background' tasks, and as such, comprehensive use of the programme nonetheless requires input and understanding by the researcher, as well. In Q Methodology, as suggested earlier, emphasis is placed upon similarities and differences recognisable between *people*, such that the Q technique becomes a process through which respondents are revealed in terms of how they are grouped (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 49). Patterns are thus sought among individual responses, or Q-sorts, and are used to reveal the different and significant factors that emerge out of the subjective responses of participants (Addams 2000: 24).

The correlation of factors revolves around difference (–1) and similarity (+1). Each Q-sort is analysed against all others in order to extract relationships that are indicative of a correlation along a continuum between –1 and +1, with the extremes representing either perfect negative correlation or perfect positive correlation (Addams 2000: 24). This correlation matrix is reached using either Centroid Factor Analysis or Principal Components Factor Analysis. Although the latter represents a statistically improved method, Centroid remains a favourite for Q practitioners by virtue of the judgemental intervention it allows on behalf of the researcher (Brown 1996d: 34.52; Kramer and Gravina 2004: 129). Both methods accomplish the same end result: a number of factor loadings related to



the correlations that, simply put, are correlation coefficients (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 50). Factor loadings take up a position of importance by virtue of their ability to demonstrate any meaningful relationships that exist between a participant's Q-sort and a factor type (Addams 2000: 25).

It is from such correlations that factors – policy arguments or discourses – are identified, although doing so requires a significant amount of statistical manipulation. Here, 'factor' represents a statistical term, or clustering of responses, which, through analysis and interpretation, can be recognised in terms of 'discourse' or 'way of seeing'. Before robust interpretations can be made, the factors revealed through correlation are subject to one or two rotation techniques: either hand (theoretical or judgemental) rotation or varimax rotation. Both are options on the PQ Method program menu (see Figure 4.3, **Appendix 4**). The latter strives for simple structure solutions in line with mathematical criteria, which aim to 'clean up the data', and the former favours theoretical and judgemental rotation by the researcher, with an intention to 'probe the data' (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 52; Kramer and Gravina 2004: 129). Although theoretical rotation is available using the PQ Method software, Q practitioners, largely due to a widespread uncertainty of its philosophical underpinnings (Brown and Robyn 2004: 104), have seldom used it. Despite this, I have opted to re-ignite the sensitivities of this 'lost art', based upon the rationale offered by Brown and Robyn (2004) and the illustrative examples presented by Kramer and Gravina (2004) and Wolf (2004). Following these arguments, I have used varimax rotation as a preliminary move and in-depth theoretical rotations as a means to find a more meaningful and representative solution for the orders of discourse associated with heritage.

The aim of these rotations was a change in the vantage point from which to view the data, so as to make clearer the associations between sorts and factors without actually affecting the underlying relationships revealed by the correlation matrix (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 52). Rotation provides the mechanism by which significant factors are clarified and extracted, and thus becomes an essential step in the process by virtue of its ability to crystallise, or allow the materialisation, of 'real' discourses. In short, it becomes a metamorphosis: a handful of variables are passed through a process of careful rotations and theoretical considerations, emerging as a significant picture of the clustering of Q-sorts, or discourses.

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Factors are determined to be significant following Stephenson's (1967: 24) 'rule of thumb', which suggests that a factor should be accepted if two or more Q-sorts provide a significant loading on it, although this rule should not overshadow the importance of theoretical considerations (Addams 2000: 27).

The product of rotation is a table of factor scores, which further requires some explanation. This is arguably the most important output table of the PQ Method program, as it is indicative of participant's subjectivity in conjunction with an understanding of how each statement manifests itself within the drawn out factors or discourses: *'In other words, the factor score shows how each item or statement would have rated on a factor had it been measured directly'* (Addams 2000: 29). Unearthing the material revealed at this stage requires that 'definers' are recognised and flagged, and this task begins with the generation of *factor arrays*, or Q-sorts that epitomise, or best typify, each factor (McKeown and Thomas 1988: 53; Addams 2000: 29). The purpose, here, is to engage with those emerging and distinct factor types that are representative of a cluster of Q-sort orientations and from which interpretation can commence (Addams 2000: 32). Drawing out 'typical discourses' or significant factors in line with factor arrays (which represent reconstructed and ideal Q-sorts) is supplemented by material gathered in semi-structured interviews undertaken during the Q-sort process, which identify and help explain the resultant discourses. It thus becomes a process of fleshing out and negotiating an understanding of the factors that have been revealed as prominent and pinpointing the salient aspects of the factor type (Schlinger 1969: 59). Significantly, this process allows the data to 'speak' and educate the research, rather than the researcher educating the data.

### **HERITAGE REVEALED: THE FACTORS AND THEIR INTERPRETATIONS**

As Brown (2006: 376) points out, the ability to render visible views constructed outside of a dominant discourse is itself an empowering act. While Chapter 2, at a conceptual level, sought to demonstrate the density and breadth of the heritage concourse, the aim of this chapter is to allow marginalised, subverted and alternative discourses to emerge, methodologically, on an equal footing with the AHD. Indeed, part of the aim of this thesis is to express the great variety and extent of heritage discourses as a means of arguing against the very narrowly conceived and uncritically accepted notion of heritage enshrined in legislation and



policy documents. The strength of Q for this research is twofold. First, it provides a methodology capable of revealing a range of viewpoints regarding heritage in more or less numerical terms and, second, in conjunction with the additional methodologies employed for this thesis (in-depth interviews and discourse analysis), it offers a means by which to define, comprehend and name those discourses that hold sway at policy and institutional levels. While it cannot in itself pull away the cloak and *reveal* a dominant or authorised discourse, it can – and does – push forward a collection of discourses, each with a different subjective rendering of heritage, that will become more meaningful as the thesis progresses.

In summary so far, the concourse of statements gathered around the issue of heritage was reduced to a 64-statement Q sample, with roughly four statements fitting to each of the sixteen cell possibilities (see **Appendix 5**). Participants taking part in the study did so in one of three ways: (1) Q-sorts were undertaken as part of a wider interview process; (2) Q-sorters participated within groups during meetings; or (3) Q-sorts were undertaken individually, usually posted to people who had agreed to participate via email correspondence. As such, the overall P sample of 119 participants contains both a convenience sample and a theoretical sample. The Q-sorts gathered were correlated and factor analysed (using Centroid Factor Analysis) within the freeware PQ Method 2.11 (Schmolck 2002), and then rotated (with varimax criteria) to provide simple structure, with final theoretical rotations used to add greater sensitivity in order to further tease out and/or clean-up the factors. Essentially, this involved attempting to strengthen, or saturate, loadings onto a particular factor. This rotation process is limited to moving the axis through different angles, thus the sorts themselves remain in their statistical clusters, and their correlations against *each other* remain unaffected. As such, the relationships between the Q-sorts, and their positions in ‘factor space’ cannot be manipulated by the analyst – rather, the analyst attempts to view the data from different angles in order to better ‘see’ the associations between perspectives.

During the correlation and factor analysis phase, eight factors were extracted for consideration, four of which were retained for the rotation phase of the process. All four extracted factors have an eigenvalue that is above 1.0 and, as such, are considered statistically significant (Wolf 2004: 153). The four factors have

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communalities that range from 42% to 59%. They will also go some way towards explaining, through interpretations and analysis, 59 percent of the variation across all the sorts. While all four factors witness sorts at both the positive and negative end of the factor, only one – Factor Two – is truly bipolar, with fourteen participants negatively defining the factor and seven positively defining the factor, with a further eleven providing significant Q-sorts at the negative end and one at the positive end. Thus, while statistically producing four factors, these results provide analytical material capable of revealing five viewpoints or ways of seeing.

Table 4.3 (**Appendix 6**) illustrates these factors with reference to those sorts that define the factor, marked in this instance with an ‘X’ against those loadings that are statistically impressive. This Table reveals not only those sorts that define the factor, but also details the significant loadings for each factor (marked in bold), with all but five participants loading significantly on one or more factors. Significance was determined using the formula advanced by Schlinger (1969: 57):

$$3 \times 1/\sqrt{n}$$

As such, the standard error used for this study was:

$$3 \times 1/\sqrt{64} = 0.39$$

Loadings larger than 0.39 were thus considered significant. These tables give a rough overview of the spread of participants across the factors, and offer an initial insight into the variability and strength of each associated discourse. A first glance at this table suggests that each factor/discourse is relatively highly populated, and although concentrations occur within the factors, there is, again, a relatively even spread of distribution from sort 1 to sort 119 – Table 4.5 illustrates the demographic profile of the participants in terms of gender and age and Table 4.6 provides the occupational profile. At this point, these tables serve to illustrate the range of participants included in the study, and variations of these will be used later in the chapter for the purposes of interpretation. Despite random participant selection forming a dominant part of the P-sample selection process, the spread of participants in terms of both age and sex is quite uniform, allowing both young and older interested parties to be fully represented in the survey.



Table 4.5: Demographic Profile of the P Sample

	Number	%
<b>Gender</b>		
Women	64	54
Men	55	46
Total	119	100
<b>Age</b>		
20–29	34	28.57
30–39	30	25.21
40–49	29	24.37
50–59	17	14.29
60–69	4	3.36
70–79	5	4.20
Total	119	100

Table 4.6: Occupational Profile of the P Sample (*entries in italics represent sub-categories*)

	Number	%
<b>Occupation</b>		
Academic	4	3.36
Archaeologist	14	11.76
<i>County Council Archaeologist</i>	3	2.52
Architect	3	2.52
Civil Servant	15	12.61
<i>DCMS</i>	5	4.20
<i>English Heritage</i>	10	8.40
Community Heritage Group Member	15	12.61
<i>Retired</i>	6	5.04
Conservation Officer	5	4.20
<i>County Council Conservation Officer</i>	2	1.68
County Councillor	2	1.68
Heritage Professional	6	5.04
International Organisation	18	15.13
<i>Intangible Cultural Heritage Division</i>	5	4.20
<i>World Heritage Centre</i>	2	1.68
<i>Division of Cultural Heritage</i>	4	3.36
<i>Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage</i>	7	5.88
Journalist	1	0.84
Museum/Curator	10	8.40
Researcher	1	0.84
Student	25	21.01
Total	119	100

From Table 4.6, which contains occupational information, it becomes clear that the largest interest groups surveyed were archaeologists, civil servants, professionals working within international heritage organisations, community heritage group members and students. While the first four categories are unsurprising in their dominance (these groups were intentionally targeted), the latter group (the students) were unintentionally targeted, and thus provide the majority of ‘practical’ participants.

Tables 4.3 and 4.4 (**Appendix 6**) tabulate the number of defining and significant sorts for each factor, a point that will be returned to in the analyses of each individual factor. Suffice to say for the moment that Factor One is defined by 46 participants and bears significant loadings from a further 19 participants. Factor Two, which is bipolar, has 21 sorts that work to define it in total (with seven positively loading and fourteen negatively loading). Additionally, there are a further eleven participants loading significantly in the negative and one in the positive. The third factor is defined by twelve sorts, one of which is associating with the factor negatively, and carries a significant loading from a further sort. Finally, Factor Four is defined by 20 sorts, none of which assign negative meaning to the Factor, with 41 further participants loading significantly on this factor, two of whom do so negatively.

**Table 4.7:** Variance Percentages for Each Factor (including those discarded for the analysis)

	Variance %
<i>Factor</i>	
Factor One	21
Factor Two	16
Factor Three	13
Factor Four	9
Factors Not Used for Analysis	41
Total	100

Factor One accounts for the largest degree of variance (21%), followed by Factor Four (16%), Factor Two (13%) and Factor Three (9%) (see Table 4.7 above). These four factors account for the majority of the variance. The remaining factors (there were eight in total) were not considered significant for determining



and explaining the remaining variance. Following from Schlinger (1969: 71), this matter of factor significance was determined using the following assumption: a factor is significant if the product of the two highest loadings on a factor, regardless of sign (-/+), exceeds twice the standard deviation of a zero correlation (Schlinger 1969: 57). For Factor Three, which accounts for the lowest percentage of the variance, these loadings are 0.8525 (sort 111, **Appendix 6**) and -0.8475 (sort 109, **Appendix 6**). Here, the cut-off point is  $2 \times 1/\sqrt{64} = 0.25$  and the product of the two highest loadings is easily within that range at 0.72 ( $0.8525 \times 0.8475 = 0.7225$ ).

While Tables 4.5, 4.6 and 4.7 provide an illustrative overview of the spread of participants across the four factors, they do relatively little in terms of fleshing out those factors into recognisable discourses. This will come with the analysis of Tables 4.8–4.25 and Figures 4.4–4.17 (**Appendices 4–13**). Tables 4.8 and 4.22 (**Appendix 7**), documenting the Factor Arrays for the factors, will be particularly informative, as will the tables illustrating the distinguishing statements for each factor (Tables 4.9, 4.11, 4.14 and 4.16; see **Appendices 8, 9, 10 and 11**). Finally, a reconfiguration of each factor is offered in Tables 4.22, 4.23 and 4.24 (**Appendix 7**), in line with the literature review undertaken in Chapter 2 as a means of contextualising the results. These tables will be referred to during the interpretive phase of each factor analysis. The results presented in these tables provide the qualitative material necessary for mapping out a range of heritage discourses.

While the analysis will progress numerically, examining Factor One first and Factor Five last, it is worth noting in these preliminary stages how all five factors appear to be slotting together. Immediately, Factor Two 'A' is recognisable as the quintessential AHD, as it is characterised by notions of materiality, objectivity, nationalism, aestheticism and patrimony. As such, the remaining four discourses and their interpretations pivot around the nuances and distinctions borne out by this factor. By contrast, Factor Two 'B' can be understood to be a radical critique or response to that quintessential character. It, like Factor Two 'A', is an anticipated factor – indeed, my own Q-sort falls within the parameters of this factor. Factor One, while subtly different to the AHD at a surface level, shares many of its core assumptions, as does Factor Three. Both may be variations of the AHD and this idea will be explored in more detail as the chapter progresses. An important point to note is that neither were anticipated perspectives. Finally,

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Factor Four is the most isolated of the factors, as it is animated by a different collection of statements to those defining the others. While it may be categorised as a response to the AHD, it does not appear to be any sort of recognised discourse in transition but, rather, it presents itself as an entirely alternative way of seeing heritage. The participants making up each factor will be examined as part of their overall interpretation in the following sections.

### **Factor One**

The first factor – at this point I will continue to refer to this simply as Factor One – is defined by 21 distinguishing statements (see Table 4.9, **Appendix 8**). This factor reflects a very optimistic approach to heritage, albeit perhaps also a little blinkered, romantic and/or naïve, which appears acutely conscious of the positive attributes of heritage:

*Statement 31: If you sideline heritage, you sideline the nation's soul (Ranking: +5)*

Regardless of what heritage actually *means* to this factor, it is of utmost importance, a point reinforced by the significantly high ranking of statement 9, particularly in comparison to the placement of this statement by three of the other factors, for which it is more or less meaningless:

*Statement 9: I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements (Ranking: -5)*

Heritage is given a somewhat reverent image, which for this factor is caught up in perpetuity:

*Statement 2: Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations (Ranking: +6)*

As Smith (2006: 19) points out, this inspires a particular sense of duty to that heritage, embedding it in a state of continual transference that requires it to pass, more or less unchanged, from one generation to the next. It is this sense of duty that gives meaning to the conservation ethos 'conserve as found'. This idea of continual transference has important implications for ideas of ownership, and implicitly draws upon a sense of expertise and stewardship. The normalised responses of this factor to statements such as 27, 32 and 37 (see Table 4.9, **Appendix 8**) are notable, and one can recognise within them a belief in a universal, common heritage. As Zimmerman (1998) points out, however, the



consequence of such a belief emerges with the legitimacy that is extended to the idea of 'expertise' and 'the experts' who take up responsibility for *representing*, as well as managing, different viewpoints and situations.

The importance of the informational and educational content of heritage is exceptionally apparent for this factor, suggesting an orientation of engagement with heritage that is fixated on the 'outcomes' of the management process:

*Statement 51: I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool (Ranking: +5)*

*Statement 52: It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations (Ranking: +6)*

The above two statements, both ranked very highly by this factor (although neither are distinguishing statements) and likely to be found in the +5 and +6 columns of an equivalent Q-sort frequency distribution, are illustrative of a deeply held belief in the educational nature of heritage and its 'passing' to future generations. While Factor One admits to the social value of heritage in the present, this value is qualified most particularly in terms of how people will *receive* the benefits of engaging with heritage, in the form of education, information and understanding.

While this continues to uphold a positive framing of the heritage process – indeed, this positivity is all-pervasive for this factor – it holds to this at the expense of developing a more nuanced conceptualisation of heritage. As a consequence, it rejects, quite explicitly, the critical, questioning statements of the Q sample:

*Statement 34: Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism (Ranking: -5)*

*Statement 33: The British Heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values (Ranking: -5)*

*Statement 35: The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed (Ranking: -4)*

Issues of power, control and hegemony are thus vigorously denied, yet it is always a particular conception of heritage that moves and motivates policy direction – Factor One, however, remains ambivalent to this. Precisely what that particular conception of heritage *is*, however, appears a little confused within this factor, as

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evidenced by the seemingly inconsistent ranking of statements regarding science, materiality, community and social history. While this factor accepts the more or less straightforward commentary regarding intangible heritage, social value and multiplicity (see Table 4.9, **Appendix 8**, statements 5, 6, 23, 64), the more ambiguous statements regarding these issues are rendered meaningless.

*Statement 58: There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost (Ranking: 0)*

*Statement 21: I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact (0)*

*Statement 24: The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be (Ranking: +1)*

*Statement 17: Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage (Ranking: 0)*

A wave of uncertainty is thus cast over what heritage actually is within this discourse, which suggests that it is in the throes of responding to a range of influences and pressures. Alternatively, it may represent a *strand* or mutation. It also suggests that for those people occupying this factor, heritage simply *is* and thus does not need defining. As such, questions that demand a response to precisely that question throw the discourse into confusion. Debating the nature of heritage has been momentarily subverted in favour of vigorously upholding the central, core assumptions of expertise, the educational outputs of heritage, and the idea of inheritance and patrimony. The significance of this particular layering of the debate will be returned to in the discussion.

The above factor interpretation suggests that Factor One (see Table 4.23, **Appendix 7**) is, perhaps confusingly, also the authorised heritage discourse as it responds to the changes currently gripping wider social debates. In particular, I am forging links here between the descriptive criteria of Factor One, the AHD, and contemporary calls for social inclusion. The idea of social inclusion is a prominent one internationally, supranationally and nationally, and can be conceptualised as a dominant discourse. I therefore see Factor One as a hybrid factor that blurs the reactionary impulses of social inclusion with an implicit romanticisation of the dominant heritage discourse. It is an attempt to respond to criticisms levelled at the restrictive definitions of heritage that have tended to dominate, without actually giving up on those fundamental, or core, assumptions



that lie at the heart of the AHD. This is illustrated, for example, by the embracing of the concept of 'community', but little clarity in where that concept ought to be positioned *within* the management process, due to the naturalisation of the idea of expertise and the assumed passivity of current/present generations. The community is important, as statement 64 makes clear:

*Statement 64: Community input is an essential part of heritage policy-making (+4)*

But quite how that community input figures in terms of input is less certain:

*Statement 63: The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance (+2)*

In output terms, such as education, the factor is far more certain:

*Statement 51: I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool (+5)*

What this factor suggests, then, is that the wider analysis undertaken by this thesis cannot be limited to a clear-cut dispute housed within the binary model of the AHD and its critical response, but must also attempt to navigate the proposition that the AHD is in flux, transition, or mutable over time and context. This notion of hybridity moves the analysis away from purely oppositional discourses, and offers what Bhabba (1990: 211, cited in Rose 1994: 50) terms as a 'third space', which opens up discursive terrain beyond the oppositional:

*... the process of cultural hybridity gives rise to something different, something new and unrecognizable, a new area of negotiation of meaning and representation.*

The possibility that this factor may be persuasive in a policy sense is thus an important one for two reasons: first, it flags up the potential tenacity of the AHD; and, second, it reveals the occurrence of alternative approaches. Indeed, while the voices of alternative discourses should be heard, it should not occur at the expense of the core values of the AHD. In short, it compromises on compromise. As such, this factor is subtle, but not muted, and it is this aspect that suggests it will be particularly salient at policy levels. In addition, while it is no surprise that there develops a sense of social responsibility within the heritage management process in response to the New Labour agenda of social inclusion, it is interesting to note that this response is not typically 'a' response, but may indeed take up one of a number of guises. The hybridity of this factor incites a

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scale of social inclusion that is not fixed, but varies along a spectrum ranging from democratising, therapeutic and paternalistic to assimilatory.

It is useful in summing up each factor to consider who makes up both the defining and significant sorts for them all. This will be examined in terms of occupational profile, although this does run the risk of generalising particular professions. Where appropriate, nuances between particular participants will be introduced to produce a more accurate and robust picture. The professional composition of Factor One, which represents a hybrid discourse combining the AHD with social inclusion overtures, is illustrated in Table 4.10 (**Appendix 8** – see also Figure 4.4). It is comprised of one academic, fifteen students, six archaeologists (two from county council offices), three museum curators, seven civil servants working with English Heritage, six heritage professionals, one architect, one researcher with IPPR, two civil servants working with DCMS, four conservation officers (one from a county council office), two county councillors, nine members of community heritage groups (three of whom are retirees) and eight professionals working within international heritage organisations (including two from the ICH Division, two from the WHC and four from the CH Division) (these numbers represent the 65 defining and significant sorts of Factor One – for an illustration of this breakdown, see Figure 4.4 in **Appendix 8**). This factor is defined and signified by a varied populace and is statistically reflective of the overall breakdown of the P sample. Reflecting back on the major categories decisively included in the P sample (but discounting ‘students’ for the moment), this factor contains the majority of participants who are archaeologists (40%), civil servants (33%) and professionals working with an international organisation (53) (see Tables 4.18–4.21 and Figures 4.9–4.12, **Appendix 12**). This is quite revealing in terms of ‘dominance’ and flags up a discursive strand that must be attended to with great rigour in the following analyses. By contrast, ‘community groups’, while finding some synergy with this factor (29%) are more conclusively associated with Factor Four (42%) (Figure 4.11, **Appendix 12**). Not only does this factor account for the greatest percentage of the variance, but it also appears to find congruence across five of the selected groups.

## **Factor Two**

Factor Two represents a highly polarised account of heritage that flags up sharply different opinions regarding heritage that agree on little within the management



process (see Table 4.11, **Appendix 9**). However, it is possible to draw together a handful of concurrent ambivalences between the two as a general precursor before defining each of these polar opposites. Essentially, it appears that Factor Two is dismissive of the more romantic and moral notions of heritage contained with the Q-sample, and chooses to focus upon those debates which deal most explicitly with the *nature* of heritage itself. As such, both factors remain disinterested in the broader issues of tourism, heritage funding, the commodification of heritage, interpretation and to a significant degree education. By contrast, both poles on this factor seem to radiate with a very clear sense of what is and is not heritage, and share an equally committed adherence to their respective conceptualisations.

#### *Factor Two 'A'*

The positive pole of this factor offers a perspective on heritage that is explicitly materialistic, scientific and nationalistic, and is a perspective that firmly roots its idea of heritage to the past. It is, as such, a very close characterisation of the AHD. With the backward glance of this materialistic approach to heritage, people become marginalised, due to their perceived passivity and irrelevance to 'heritage' issues, and are considered as outsiders to the decision-making process, which is instead reserved for the elites. Science, neutrality, rationality and impartiality are tantamount to the cause, contributing to the overall unabashedly elitist tone of the factor:

*Statement 37: Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved (Ranking: +6)*

*Statement 12: The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation (Ranking: +5)*

*Statement 16: Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues (Ranking: +5)*

In terms of materiality, this factor lays out quite a specific, fabric-orientated image of heritage:

*Statement 1: Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage (Ranking: +5)*

*Statement 8: It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England (Ranking: +4)*

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*Statement 42: The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation (Ranking: +3)*

This materiality is affirmed through its coupling with those statements that define the negative axis of the factor, which dismiss as irrelevant the intangible and immaterial aspects of heritage:

*Statement 6: Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture in the creation of a socially relevant heritage (Ranking: -5)*

*Statement 5: Heritage is about the intangibles: the values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff (Ranking: -4)*

Without providing an overabundance of examples of the kinds of statements that define this discourse, it becomes apparent that it carries an extremely robust, self-assured approach to heritage that is irreversibly tied up with the tangible, structural and grand 'past'. Note, particularly, the definitive use of the determiner 'the' here. This factor also speaks volumes of the type of national identity it sees for England, aligning itself with the grand, impressive, mighty and powerful. In further teasing apart the subtleties of Factor Two 'A', one becomes aware of a strong orientation towards the 'national' and 'global', with substantial gaps existing between the emphasis afforded to these in comparison to that offered to the 'local' and 'community' levels.

*Statement 26: I don't see why there is an interest in local levels, when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world (Ranking: +5)*

*Statement 64: Community input is an important part of heritage policy making (Ranking: -6)*

What this factor represents is an unmistakably expert-led understanding of heritage and its management that is stripped of social relevance and dialogicality. Moreover, this factor is almost entirely lacking in the self-reflection needed to adequately and critically comment upon the implications of this rationalisation. Indeed, like Factor One, this factor rejects all of the negative commentary aimed at the ambitious assertions that it, itself, makes:

*Statement 36: Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic (Ranking: -3)*

*Statement 11: There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised (Ranking: -4)*

*Statement 43: The heritage world is "too middle class" and puts too much emphasis on grand houses (Ranking: -5)*



Overall, Factor Two 'A' offers an impressively sturdy and uncompromising account of heritage that is intimately tied up with notions of materiality, national identity and monolithic pronouncements about 'the past' to be made exclusively by experts or professionals. Those who fall outside of such professional bodies, those who concern themselves with *social* values and meanings, and those communities associated with heritage places and experiences are marginalised as irrelevant.

Factor Two 'A', which maps the characterisation of the AHD as set out in Chapter 2, is revealing in its composition (see Table 4.12, **Appendix 9**). While this factor is the smallest in terms of those subscribing to it, an overwhelming 75% of those are civil servants working within English Heritage and DCMS, with the remainder coming from a background in archaeology and conservation (see also Figure 4.5, **Appendix 9**). Admittedly this may seem a statistically small sample, but the factor is to be considered significant if two or more participants are highly loaded on it.<sup>10</sup> Of the three civil servants working with English Heritage, two are policy officers and the other is the Director of Conservation. For DCMS, this breakdown is one policy officer and two research officers involved in the *Heritage Protection Review*. This factor is thus entirely made up of those professionals not only working within heritage organisations and institutions, but those largely involved in the policy process, either directly through their work within *Policy and Communications* or through their role as researcher within the process of conducting a review of existing policies. This is a significant point in terms of the proposition that there exists an authorised heritage discourse, as it makes powerful suggestions regarding the degree to which it has been institutionalised. Across the four isolated groups (archaeologists, civil servants, community heritage group membership and organisations), this factor is marked by the lowest percentage of congruence in all but one group – the civil servants (see Tables 4.18–4.21 and Figures 4.9–4.12, **Appendix 12**). Archaeologists define and signify this factor with 7%, civil servants with 22% and both community groups and those working in international organisations with 0%. This is an observation of considerable

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<sup>10</sup> An alternative method for determining the significance of a factor is to ascertain whether the product of the two highest loadings on a factor (in this case 0.7580 and 0.6965) exceeds twice the standard deviation of a zero correlation (Schlinger 1969: 57). Here, the cut-off point is  $2 \times 1/\sqrt{64} = 0.25$  and the product of the two highest loadings is easily within that range at 0.53 ( $0.7580 \times 0.6965 = 0.53$ ).

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import – if this discourse accounts for only a small percentage of ‘perspective’, how and why, then, is it being maintained within a range of introductory heritage texts and policy documents? Certainly the literature review undertaken in Chapter 2 is suggestive of this dominance, as is previous work undertaken by Smith (2006). Subsequently, this is an issue that will warrant repeated scrutiny in the unfolding analysis.

### *Factor Two ‘B’*

By contrast, Factor Two ‘B’ offers a powerful perspective that is defined entirely by its reactions to Factor Two ‘A’. To suggest that it takes exception to the sentiments expressed by the positive pole of this discourse is perhaps understating the magnitude of its response. Although the distinguishing statements for this factor (see Table 4.11, **Appendix 9**) are simply the flip side of Factor Two ‘A’, the reversed re-combination of the statements offers a dramatically different effect. To begin, this factor is characterised not by the apparent certainty of Two ‘A’, but by a moral reaction to the perceived imposition of a narrowly, and materialistically, defined heritage.

An immediately striking feature of this factor is its reaction against both the materiality of heritage and the utility of scientific investigation for understanding its meaning. This is a substantial rejection of traditional assumptions surrounding the nature of heritage, and is suggestive of a move away from the perceived importance of an assumed historical and aesthetic content of heritage, towards the social and cultural work that is actively invested into the heritage process. This, in itself, works to strengthen the argument that Factor Two ‘A’ is the AHD. For this Factor, heritage is imagined as something that is subjectively communicated and understood, and is positioned and emotionally experienced in the present, rather than relegated to a neutral past:

*Statement 12: The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation  
(Ranking: –5)*

*Statement 16: Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues (Ranking: –5)*

*Statement 4: Heritage places are relics of the past, and not places with living cultural value  
(Ranking: –4)*

And, by contrast:



*Statement 5: Heritage is about the intangibles: the values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff (Ranking: +4)*

*Statement 6: Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture in the creation of a socially relevant heritage (Ranking: +5)*

It is important to note, however, that this is a response aimed not so much at dismissing materiality as such, as statement 6 above illustrates, but at de-privileging *specific* types of material heritage, along with attempts to legislate in line with very prescriptive and limited definitions:

*Statement 1: Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage (Ranking: -5)*

*Statement 3: English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, Roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles and palaces (Ranking: -4)*

*Statement 8: It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England (Ranking: -4)*

Perhaps the most obvious feature of this discourse, however, is its critical nature, which is fuelled by a belief in equity and inclusion:

*Statement 61: Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage (Ranking: +6)*

*Statement 24: The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be (Ranking: +5)*

The strength of this factor lies in its skilful coupling of cynicism with idealism. Here, the optimism of Factor One has been replaced by the penetrating gaze of a factor that appears very serious about challenging those perspectives held by its counterparts. The robust rejection of a particular 'way of seeing' heritage operates in tandem with a very forward-looking spirit that talks implicitly of social inclusion and community engagement, and an overall abandonment of the authority of 'the expert'. This is more explicitly explored in the ranking of statements such as:

*Statement 22: It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage (Ranking: +5)*

What is interesting about the reaction underpinning this factor is the serious alignment it has with the critical commentary both Factor One and Factor Two

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'A' were unimpressed with, as indicated by the scores associated with the following statements (see also Table 4.25, **Appendix 7**):

*Statement 43: The heritage world is "too middle class" and puts too much emphasis on grand houses (Ranking: +5)*

*Statement 59: It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right? (Ranking: +4)*

*11: There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised (Ranking: +4)*

*Statement 35: The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed (Ranking: +4)*

*Statement 36: Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic (Ranking: +3)*

The heart of this commentary has as much, therefore, to do with addressing the *social* context surrounding heritage as the nature of heritage itself. Issues of disempowerment, along with expressions of conflict and contestation, are integral to this approach, which appears to pivot around the complexities of power, control and hegemony. It occupies a very clear emancipatory position and works very hard towards picking out and unpacking the power behind the management process. This is in direct contrast to the more passive approaches of both Factor One and Two 'A', both of which are entirely more comfortable with, or perhaps even oblivious to, the 'hidden power' of discourse. It seems that these hidden relations of power are the antagonists that drive this factor, which arguably divides its time between reacting against the 'one-sidedness' and hegemonic tendencies of power-brokers who drive particular heritage discourses, and alleviating those tendencies through the promotion of local and community involvement. The distinction to be made here, for this factor, is that heritage is not simply discovered, found or reclaimed in the present for a range of social, cultural or political means, but is a process of meaning-making situated and produced *entirely* in the present, "... even if it does so in terms of the past" (Kirshenblatt-Gimblett 1995: 370, see also Handler 2003: 359). It is not so much the bringing of the past to life *for* the present, but an activity motivated *by* the present. Indeed, for this factor there is a very obvious connection between materiality, power, class issues and the eclipse of a socially relevant heritage. This is unsurprising when coupled with the sorters who define and signify the factor (see Table 4.13, **Appendix 9**). This critical reaction to the AHD is made up of three academics, seven students, two archaeologists, one museum curator, two



civil servants working with English Heritage, two heritage professionals, seven community heritage group members and one professional working within an international heritage organisation (see also Figure 4.6, **Appendix 9**). Heritage professionals and those working at the forefront of policy within EH and DCMS do not feature on this factor, which is instead mediated by community, academic and student perspectives. A closer inspection of the percentages of professions occupying this factor reveals that 13% of archaeologists, and 7% of both civil servants and international heritage professionals subscribe to this factor, in contrast to the 23% of community heritage group members (Tables 4.18–4.21 and Figures 4.9–4.12, **Appendix 12**). Important here are the two civil servants (defining sorters for this Factor), who self-identify as actively critical of the current heritage management and policy process. This expression of dissatisfaction was notable in both the interviews and Q-sorts undertaken by these two participants and is an important distinction to note in terms of the people seen to occupy this factor. It is also a crucial point to note in terms of the often-assumed heterogeneity of heritage organisations and those who work within them. As such, it is not surprising that this factor appears to be the most critical of the AHD, as it is defined by those who find themselves (either by choice or circumstance) in a position from which to examine and assess the AHD.

Factor Two, divided by the descriptions above into two accounts, adheres very closely with Smith's idea of the authorised heritage discourse on its positive pole. The negative pole, by contrast, has provided a critical reaction. A number of scholars (see B. Graham 2002; Hall 2005; Littler and Naidoo 2005; Smith 2006) have recently commented upon the occurrence of a dominant or authorised heritage discourse. Work by these scholars characterise this conceptualisation of heritage as something confined to the past – moreover, it is a past harnessed to an essentialised nation (Hall 2005: 25). It is recognised as a strident perspective that values ideas of inheritance, expertise, materiality, innate significance, historical and aesthetic content, and, as these qualities combine, mediates an understanding of heritage that is virtually people-less (nameless and faceless). It is this type of characterisation that surfaces in introductory texts about heritage management (see, for example, Cleere 1989b; Hunter and Ralston 1993; Hunter 1996b) and policy documents, as stated, for example, in English Heritage (2005d), *Heritage Counts: The State of England's Historic Environment*:

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*The historic environment comprises all those buildings, places and landscape that are rich in historic character ... We need to protect and understand their significance and value for the benefit of future generations. (English Heritage 2005d: 1).*

The AHD is monolingual and has a preponderance towards the built heritage associated with the middle and upper classes and, importantly, holds its position with power and discursive sway (Littler and Naidoo 2005: 3). In addition, it is a discourse coiled tightly around notions of Englishness and, as Hall (1999: 7) points out, whiteness.

My descriptions of Factor Two 'A' particularly (although also to a significant degree Factor One) are tantamount to this conceptualisation of the dominant heritage discourse, particularly in England. Likewise, the critical response that characterises Factor Two 'B' coalesces with those views expressed by B. Graham (2002), Hall (2005), Littler and Naidoo (2005), and Smith (2006) in their challenge of the dominant discourse. These perspectives are locked in a debate centred on the nature of heritage that is hardly likely to see the two conflate in consensus or genuine dialogue. In tying Factor Two 'B' up with those critical reactions to the authorised heritage discourse found in the heritage literature, it is easier to contextualise this response in terms of ideas of social inclusion, multiculturalism, the politics of recognition and a collapsing of faith in the 'factual', 'objective' and 'credible'. The two poles of this factor are central to this thesis, providing a clear sense of the conflict and contestation that arises if one *assumes* they are talking about the same thing when, indeed, one virtually has a complete inability to comprehend what the other holds dear. Focusing simply on this one particular factor, with its two poles, lends itself to the developing of an understanding that the reality of heritage is, as Graham *et al.* (2000: 24) point out, rarely simple.

### **Factor Three**

Factor Three is perhaps the most sober of the five, with the certainty of both poles of Factor Two, while not entirely absent, muted here. The romance of Factor One, the conviction of Factor Two 'A' and the activism of Factor Two 'B' are replaced here by a more distanced, less emotional and perhaps more pragmatic acceptance of the more 'manufactured' aspects of heritage. The debates surrounding the *nature* of heritage that so exercised both poles of Factor Two dissipate somewhat here, as the factor concerns itself with issues of management



instead. This is reflected in the loadings of those statements highlighted as distinguishing the factor, for which there are only two statements with loadings of 5 or higher (see Table 4.14, **Appendix 10**), as opposed to Factor Two which boasts a total of six for both poles (see Table 4.11, **Appendix 9**). These two distinguishing factors are:

*Statement 50: Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us  
(Ranking: +6)*

*Statement 48: In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference (Ranking: +5)*

This factor is further illustrated by the following statement:

*Statement 20: Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage (Ranking: +3)*

The above statements reveal almost a disinterest in heritage issues themselves, although this is not to say that heritage, for this factor, is a negative thing. Rather, it is a means to something else. If that means becomes too difficult, too constrained or too unstable, do we then begin to disregard that means in favour of something else? Indeed, the sentiment emanating from these initial statements is certainly one of scepticism, in which the utility of heritage is noted (and here heritage is seen as a springboard to alleviating cultural difference), but has been compromised by those in positions of power, both in terms of closely legislating the uses of heritage, and promoting neurotic and unhelpful responses. The implicit undertones that I have attempted to draw out of the above three statements are more clearly stated in the next:

*Statement 53: Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects (Ranking: +3)*

*Statement 46: Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences (Ranking: +3)*

Here, the malleability and availability of heritage is a recognised area of concern, as is further exemplified by the following statement rankings:

*Statement 36: Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic (Ranking: +2)*

*Statement 59: It feels a bit like you can do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right? (Ranking: +2)*

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Of the factors examined so far, this is the first to express such an avid concern for what others factors have flagged up as peripheral issues, rather than 'the main event', so to speak. For this factor, the debate revolves not around the material nature of heritage or the critical commentary it can make on the complexities of power and control (while these issues are recognised and accepted, they are not the central concern). Rather, it lies with the suspicious, almost chameleonic, weaknesses of heritage.

This factor is also defined by its lack of opinion, one way or the other, regarding the role of scientific investigation within the heritage management process. For the preceding factors, this was an issue of extreme importance (whether viewed negatively or positively), but for Factor Three, statements concerned with questioning the usefulness and strengths of science in heritage matters remain consistently neutral:

*Statement 12: The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation  
(Ranking: 0)*

*Statement 16: Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues (Ranking: 0)*

*Statement 21: I feel more confident in the decision-making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact (Ranking: 0)*

*Statement 25: The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage (Ranking: +1)*

In terms of defining what heritage actually is, this factor is a little more confused than its counterparts. While there are elements of concurrence in and between this factor and the others, overall consistency is lacking. The idea that heritage should be defined around the concepts of sites, monuments and buildings is explicitly rejected, as are all references that these may somehow be expressive of English or British national identity. Indeed, those statements that make assumptions about relationships between very tangible and dominant ideas of heritage and expressions of national identity are very much rejected:

*Statement 17: Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage (Ranking: -6)*

*Statement 8: It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England (Ranking: -5)*



*Statement 42: The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation (Ranking: -4)*

*Statement 7: The country house symbolises the idea of 'heritage' in Britain (Ranking: -3)*

While this suggests a strong commitment against tangibility, it is not clear if it is 'tangibility' itself that is being reacted against, or the tying of these aspects of heritage to national identity. One might expect an adherence to intangibility as a natural counterpoint, but it is here that issues of inconsistency emerge. While on the one hand 'heritage as intangibilities' is framed in either a neutral or negative light (see statements 5, 28 and 29), when rephrased to specifically incorporate language, memory and oral history, the rankings alter significantly towards the positive (see statement 6 and 60). Again, it adds to the argument that what heritage *is* is not so much the issue as much as what it is *for*.

In turning to issues of management, the factor begins to clarify once again. Here, it is possible to detect an element of belief in 'the expert' and those institutions traditionally responsible for managing heritage. Criticisms voiced by this factor are not so much aimed at the work done by these institutions and disciplines, but, as was revealed early, these criticisms are saved for the idea of heritage itself. Moreover, this factor explicitly reacts *against* criticism levelled at those professionals engaging with both heritage and the policy process:

*Statement 14: Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches (Ranking: -2)*

*Statement 41: Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life (Ranking: -4)*

The idea of challenging expertise is also implicitly rejected when examining the collection of statements concerned with community involvement and values, which are generally ranked very positively:

*Statement 64: Community input is an essential part of heritage policy (Ranking: +3)*

*Statement 22: It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage (Ranking: +4)*

The exception occurs when this sentiment is taken further, and expressed in the more concrete terms of control:

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*Statement 63: The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance (Ranking: -1)*

In this instance, the limits of community involvement in the management process are realised for Factor Three.

As such, the Q exercise has introduced a less conspicuous, but nonetheless interesting, discourse within the management process: Factor Three. This factor has the feel of an onlooker, and is perhaps best characterised as the articulation of external social practices with the social practice of heritage management, or the recontextualisation of heritage in line with the idea of governance. It is practical, chooses to be ignorant of those debates surrounding the nature of heritage, and is sceptical. The malleability of heritage leaves a question mark above its utility for progressing wider societal aims under the guidance of expertise. This factor was entirely unpredicted at the outset of the Q study, and it is compelling for this reason, despite accounting for the smallest percentage of variance across the sorts. While the AHD, along with its critical reaction and its romanticised hybrid are able to begin commenting upon the internal inconsistencies within the heritage process, this factor offers an understanding of heritage at a different level. It loosens the AHD's hold on the concrete and tangible idea of heritage and asks questions of its malleability. It is reminiscent of Foucault's (1984a: 82) warning that heritage is not:

*... an acquisition, a possession that grows and solidifies; rather, it is an unstable assemblage of faults, fissures, and heterogeneous layers that threaten the fragile inheritor from within and from underneath.*

The links between heritage and social inclusion have, for the most part, been almost entirely taken for granted, as, indeed, have those more frequently made links between heritage identity. What this recontextualisation of heritage offers by contrast is a questioning of the soundness of heritage. The perspectives revealed by the other factor interpretations appear so absorbed in the very *idea* of heritage that it, itself, has been naturalised. As a counterpart to this naturalisation, the recontextualisation of heritage by Factor Three, with a combination of ideas of governance and management, injects a hint of scepticism into the study that requires a more cynical questioning of the uses put to heritage. It flags up the role of promotional genres, the transferral of heritage into the realm of the



commodity, and allows heritage to be seen as a naturalised 'brand' that can may be bought and sold.

Factor Three is comprised of thirteen defining and significant sorts, of which five are students, two archaeologists, one museum curator, two civil servants working with English Heritage, one county councillor and two members of community heritage groups (see Table 4.15 and Figure 4.7, **Appendix 10**). Once again, this is a fairly varied group of sorters, although the self-identified critical input from academics, community heritage group membership and students as found of Factor Two 'B' is missing here. Instead, while there is a critical edge to this factor, it is not coupled with the active idealism of Factor Two 'B'. It is not a discourse that particularly animates any of the four highlighted groups, which confirms the sense that this factor has the feel of 'the onlooker', or a curious 'policy-maker'. In percentage terms, 13% of archaeologists, 7% of civil servants, 6% of community heritage group members and 0% of those working in international heritage organisations subscribe to this discourse (see Tables 4.18–4.21 and Figures 4.9–4.12, **Appendix 12**).

#### **Factor Four**

Factor Four is distinguishable from the other four discourses discussed so far by virtue of a particularly comprehensive list of statements (see Table 4.16, **Appendix 11**). Thirty-six of the statements in the overall Q-sample – which is a little over half – are drawn upon to distinguish this factor from the others. This does not mean that these statements are meaningless to Factors One, Two and Three, but that Factor Four has ranked this collection of statements in such a way as to separate itself from them. The top end of the list of distinguishing statements is similarly composed of statements that were positively meaningful to Factor Two 'B'. For example, a belief in community input, the importance of intangibility, coupled with a rejection of the relevance of scientific investigation are reminiscent of some of the features defining Factor Two 'B'. Likewise, this factor also reacts strongly against ideas of monumentality and the privileging of that heritage most commonly associated with the middle and upper classes. Again in line with Factor Two 'B', Factor Four questions aspirations that aim to promote global ideas of heritage above that of the local.

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Unlike Factor Two 'B' (see Table 4.24, **Appendix 7**), however, this factor shies away from the more critical debates that drive and characterise Factor Two 'B'. Indeed, this factor is decidedly *uncritical*.

*Statement 18: There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism (Ranking: 0)*

*34: Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism (Ranking: -2)*

*Statement 35: The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed (Ranking: -1)*

In this capacity, Factor Four also diverges sharply from Factor Three, in that it worries precisely about what heritage *is*, rather than the implications of what it *does*. As such, it is passionate about defining a heritage that is socially relevant and contemporarily useful, and is quite willing to ignore those issues that are extraneous to this particular focus. Instead, it rejects suggestions of monumentalism and tangibility without providing an indication as to what drives this aversion outside of a belief in language, memory and meaning.

What really animates this factor, however, is a belief in local and community voices. The statements that find positive positions within the normalised sort of this factor (see Figure 4.17, **Appendix 13**) are intimately tied up with issues of community values, social meaning, participation and responsibility:

*Statement 22: It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage (Ranking: +5)*

*Statement 24: The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be (Ranking: +3)*

*Statement 64: Community input is an essential part of heritage policy-making (Ranking: +5)*

This is coupled with the more obvious rejection of a hierarchical interest in global or world heritage over local:

*Statement 26: I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world (Ranking: -5)*

*Statement 30: The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole (Ranking: -1)*

Moreover, the sense of heritage that is developed by this factor is personal, emotional and considered entirely relevant in today's society. This reflects the



theoretical underpinnings of research carried out by Poria *et al.* (2003, 2004: 21, see also Herbert 2001), who assert that heritagizing is about a want, need or desire to be exposed to, and involved in, personal heritage experiences. This brings forward an important dimension often overlooked by Factor One and Two 'A', which tended to characterise heritage users as passive receptors in need of 'education' and/or 'entertainment'. However, as Poria *et al.* (2004: 21 – see also Poria *et al.* 2003: 239) point out, "... *there [is] something else going on that has yet to be discovered*", and it is this sense of heritage that emerges here with Factor Four. For this factor, heritage is for the present, rather than the past, although it does also share the sense of 'inheritance' explored through Factor One. It is forward-looking, hopeful and also possesses an element of individualism. At the same time, it clings to a belief in what I will here term 'contented democracy', based on a strong acceptance of political equality, bound up not with issues of power and control, but with something that simply *is*. For this factor, there is room for further people to be recognised, and indeed this is what we should aspire towards, and the barrier currently preventing their voices being heard is choice. However, as the following statements reveal, it remains a choice, and people are free to engage or disengage with heritage issues.

*Statement 11: There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised (Ranking: +2)*  
*Statement 19: Heritage should not be forced on people (Ranking: +3)*

For those who do care, such as those occupying Factor Four, heritage really does matter, but it is a cause that needs to remain within the hands of the people.

*Statement 9: I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements (Ranking: -4)*

*Statement 10: Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory (Ranking: -3)*

The relationship between heritage, politics and control thus remains relatively unproblematic, as active participation is a freely made choice.

The conjunction of individualism with a belief in the importance of local and community levels allows a very personal sense of heritage to characterise this factor. It is thus not surprising that the defining sorts that are aligned with it fail to register, or respond favourably to, issues of tourism and commodification:

*Statement 54: Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past (Ranking: -3)*

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*Statement 55: Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy (Ranking: -5)*

*Statement 47: Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and other enjoy (Ranking: -2)*

Factor Four becomes vaguely inconsistent at this point, and denies ‘freedom of choice’ to those wishing to consume heritage beyond their own locality. Heritage is not a commercial product; it should not be commodified, nor should it be shackled to the national economy. In short, then, this factor becomes a post-modern perspective attempting to deny what many have paraded as the ‘quintessential post-modern industry’ (Urry 1990: 87, see also Walsh 1992).

Based on the above factor interpretations, I suggest that this fifth factor represents a second explicit reaction to the AHD. While this factor is intertextually entwined with the notion of social inclusion, unlike Factor One – re-characterised here as a hybrid discourse attempting to negotiate the dictates of social inclusion, while remaining true to many of the underpinnings of the AHD – this factor does not appear to be hybrid. Rather, it is a pure and emotional response to the AHD that lends substantial support to the notion of social inclusion. It is not so much born out of it as underpinning it. Factor One gave the impression of duality in response, hence the hybridity in factor outcome, but with this factor, it is not quite clear which came first: the occurrence of those subscribing to this viewpoint or notions of social inclusion. What is interesting here is the very high level of community activists subscribing to this factor (42% – see Figure 4.11, **Appendix 12**), along with an equally high number of academics or those associated with a university or similar institution. Significantly, it was to this factor that those working with the Intangible Cultural Heritage Division of UNESCO subscribed. The very strong sense of the political life of a community in combination with heritage is aptly supported by those subscribing to this factor, who are themselves in a position to be forceful in agitating for the rights of community groups to be more than simply educated and informed. The vibrancy of heritage in the present characterises this discourse, which suggests that while it is clearly oppositional to the AHD, it is also subtly oppositional to the fusing of the AHD with concepts of social inclusion. Indeed, this triggers a social inclusion discourse of its own that differs significantly from that sponsored by Factor One in its belief in the potency of the political voice of the community.



What is interesting about this discourse is the level of overlap it shares with Factor Two 'B', the critical reaction to the AHD. While there is little of its critical scrutiny absorbed within this factor, the two are certainly not mutually exclusive. Although this final factor does not readily recognise the appropriation of heritage by distinct social groups, the commonality of rejecting both monumentality and notions of inheritance is nonetheless deeply held. As Graham *et al.* (2000: 34) point out, this is because the notion of 'disinheritance' operates on a spectrum, and thus while for Factor Two 'B' this is tied up with notions of power and marginalisation, for Factor Four this act of empowerment is less clearly defined. Regardless of their respective positions on this spectrum of disinheritance, both are useful illustrations that "... *[w]hat counts as heritage, and whose heritages are valued, is thus an arena of intense contestation*". The two find consensus in how they approach the nature of heritage and develop the idea that it, ultimately, resides within us. Reflecting arguments developed by Hall (1997: 61), heritage becomes a signifying practice:

*It is us – in society, within human culture – who make things mean, who signify. Meanings, consequently, will always change, from one culture or period to another.*

However, unlike the scepticism of Factor Three, both embrace the inherently revisionist nature of heritage as central for its alignment with the present. Where Factor Four digresses from Factor Two, however, is in the lack of attention placed upon any debates that attempt to unpack and explore the power that occupies those spaces of resistance and contestation.

This final factor elucidates a fifth dimension to the heritage process, and expands the initially anticipated two factors (the AHD and its critical reaction) significantly. While this analysis, to this point, falls short of offering definitive answers regarding the operationalisation of a dominant heritage discourse within heritage organisations and institutions, it does offer a handful of discourses that may be seen to mediate that process. How, and in what ways, these discourses interact, communicate and direct each other remains to be seen, but that was never really the purpose of this chapter. However, rather than taking for granted the existence of a binary model of heritage, confined to the bipolarity of Factor Two, this study has brought to the surface a further three perspectives that may have hitherto gone unnoticed. A general feel for how these perspectives draw up

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their boundaries around issues of heritage have been explored, but these boundaries will need firming up in the coming chapters.

Finally, Factor Four is comprised of four archaeologists, two academics, five heritage professionals, four museum curators, fourteen students (with one reacting strongly against the factor), one researcher with IPPR, two conservation officers, six professionals working with international heritage organisations (four within the ICH Division and two with the Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage), thirteen local community heritage group members, eight civil servants (six with English Heritage and two with DCMS) and two county councillors (one of whom is reacting against this factor) (see Table 4.17 and Figure 4.8, **Appendix 11**). It is interesting that 41.94% of all community heritage group member loadings fall on to this factor (see Table 4.20 and Figure 4.11, **Appendix 12**). It is, to all intents and purposes, driven by a distinct community focus, and this interpretation is compounded by the high proportion of community members who define and signify this factor. Interestingly, this factor is also animated by archaeologists (27%), civil servants (29%) and those working for international heritage organisations (40%) (see Tables 4.18–4.21 and Figures 4.9–4.12, **Appendix 12**). As such, it carries a message that appears to find synergy across all four occupational categories, and is suggestive that issues of ‘community’ have taken up a powerful political edge. How this interest is translated into policy is a question that requires further exploration.

## **DISCUSSION AND CONCLUSIONS: MAPPING THE DISCOURSES**

An important distinction highlighted in this exercise is that the heritage terrain is polarised and convoluted, with different perspectives clustering around a number of alternative approaches to management. The problem becomes how to identify and expose the central arguments of each discourse, and that answer, to a significant degree, can be found with Q Methodology. While it is a methodology that carries a certain disadvantage in terms of time constraints and heavy cognitive loads for the researcher in defining both samples (stimulus and person) and judgmentally rotating the results, the information it yields is both fascinating and informative (Stainton Rogers 1991: 154). In this chapter I have identified a range of accounts that deal with ‘heritage’, its attendant policy and management in England. These accounts were statistically and diagrammatically mapped, then examined in detail, providing an introduction to the diverse – and at times



incommensurate – views that animate the social practice of heritage. These gave further expression to Smith’s proposition that there is a dominant heritage discourse, the AHD. However, importantly, each offered a different perspective on what they found to be salient (or otherwise) about that discourse. At the same time, the five factors examined in this chapter cannot be pictured entirely within the context of the AHD and must be envisioned as distinct, and therefore resting upon different assumptions and ways of thinking through the problems that currently beset heritage. But what does it all mean?

The above descriptions are drawn from a variety of tables and figures designed to visually construct the defining characteristics of each factor to have emerged from this Q study. An alternative way to visualise the factors interpreted above is to examine the normalised factor scores, or equivalent Q-sort frequency distribution pyramids, for each factor (see Figures 4.13–4.17, **Appendix 13**). These illustrate the way a ‘typical’ sorter for that factor would arrange the 64 statements, and offer a glimpse of the statistical complexity tied up in distinguishing each factor. Indeed, in mathematical terms, the sorting of 64 statements into the required quasi-normal distribution shape gives rise to well over a billion combinations (Brown *et al.* 1999: 612).<sup>11</sup> Used in conjunction with the list of statements (**Appendix 5**), it becomes possible to visualise exactly how disparate these perspectives are in term of how they see issues surrounding heritage. The strength of the quasi-normal (forced) distribution becomes particularly revealing in this instance, as it demonstrates the constraints placed upon each participant to render explicit otherwise implicit values and assumptions. The subtlety of the movement from one column to the next (from +6 to +5 to +4 and so forth) requires participants to make decisions about their beliefs and preference that might otherwise remain concealed (Brown *et al.* 1999: 612). However, as Brown *et al.* (1999: 612) go on to point out, as this forced distribution does not play a significant role in the factor analysis, recalcitrant participants may choose to ignore this forced distribution.

The factors or discourses mapped through the application of Q Methodology reveal a number of important points that better contextualise the material

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<sup>11</sup> Indeed, it is the seriously huge number of 64 factorial (abbreviated to 64!), or 126,886,932,185,884,164,103,433,389,335,161,480,802,865,516,174,545,192,198,801,894,375,214,704,230,400,000,000,000,000, or  $1.3 \times 10^{89}$ . This, according to the UCI Chemistry Class Pages (n.d.), offers a number that is far greater than the number of atoms in the universe.

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discussed in Chapter 2. While only two of the discourses revealed were anticipated, all five drew context and relevance from the literature reviewed in Chapter 2. Primarily, Factor Two 'A' can be discussed as the quintessential AHD. It is concerned with materiality, expertise, patrimony and a belief in positivism. It is this strong characterisation that was found in much of the heritage literature and owes its legacy to a history steeped in nationalism and romanticism. In this sense, little of the interpretive material used to construct a sense of this discourse was surprising. Equally unsurprising was the critical reaction to the AHD found on the opposite pole. Far from accepting these ideals of materiality, expertise, patrimony and positivism as irrelevant, this discourse was in profound opposition to them. Instead, it was far more amenable to notions of heritage as a social process that is situated in the present, and subjectively constructed. For this factor, heritage is intimately entangled with emotions and personal experience, not only in terms of embodied and experiential encounters with heritage, but with a heightened sense of the political and moral ramifications of a mishandled heritage. This factor is predicated around being critical – it is about recognising the power, ideology and dominance implicated in the managing of heritage. It is also about challenging that one-sidedness. What I am referring to here is not simply a reorientation of the gaze of history towards 'ordinary lives', 'living history' or 'vernacular pasts' as opposed to the lives and lifestyles of the elite (Dicks 2000: 62; Tivers 2002), but a wholesale refashioning of that gaze. It is not satisfied with making visible a wider range of people *within* museum displays, for example. Rather, what this factor is interested in revealing is how an equally wide range of people produce, understand, experience and consume the heritage *they* gaze upon, and that warrants recognition and *acceptance*.

While the above two discourses were anticipated, Factors One, Three and Four provide unexpected perspectives that may be more subtly woven into the policy literature. The first of these, Factor One, I have labelled the Romantic Hybrid, which is concerned primarily with an idea of heritage as something that is inherently good. Moreover, for this discourse it is fundamental – an essential. Like Factor Two 'A', notions of patrimony are prevalent, but it is not this outcome that principally animates this discourse. Rather, education and information appear to be the central uses of heritage. This factor lacks the critical acuity of Factor Two 'B', which reinforces the neglect of the power relations tied up in the social practice of heritage reminiscent of much of the heritage literature.



Instead, as heritage is a social 'good', it is also a social 'right', and through this is naturalised into something that 'simply is', no questions asked. It represents the AHD in an alternative guise, and is the type of discourse one might expect to find in the social inclusion documentation, due to the overriding assumption that heritage is inherently good and capable of harbouring positive social change. In contrast, Factor Three proposes a 'heritage' that is quite the opposite: malleable, corruptible and susceptible to the whims of commercialism. What is subtly visible in this discourse is the heritage industry critique rehearsed in Chapter 2. The scepticism and suspicions of the nature of heritage are prevalent here, as is a sense of nostalgia for a time in which heritage was 'easy'. This factor is not concerned with issues of tangibility or intangibility but, rather, seeks to address what heritage does, or, perhaps more importantly, what it can be made to do. As such, this factor also errs on the side of the therapeutic nature of heritage, but this is a nature that needs to be properly and firmly harnessed and used for a wider social purpose – social order. This is an instrumental discourse in every sense. Finally, Factor Four introduced the strongest community-oriented focus, and perhaps the strongest discourse of all five in terms of its transferability across a range of interest groups. This factor shares much conceptual space with Factor Two 'B', but loses a little of the critical edge. Again, this is a discourse I expect to see making concerted discursive efforts in the policy documents under review, although unlike Factor One, it is difficult to see this factor making any intertextual moves with the AHD.

The range of heritage discourses this exercise has produced is arresting for three reasons: first, it has revealed a factor that shares substantial characteristics with what Smith (2006) has labelled the authorised heritage discourse; second, it has unearthed a collection of four competing, but often latent, perspectives in the heritage process; and, third, no sense of overlap or consensus emerged across these viewpoints. While at this point it is difficult to put together a more comprehensive analysis of what these factors might mean in terms of the heritage management process in England, they nonetheless add credence to the proposition that heritage is not so much a 'thing', but a discursive practice. It is not a bounded entity that is simply passed through time from one generation to the next, unchanged and improving – signed, sealed and delivered – but is a complicated process of constructing meaning. Nor is it solely about monumentality and grand, elite lifestyles to be imbibed to the rest of the

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populace. Nor, for that matter, is it always a tool for education, wellbeing and self-improvement. Moreover, it cannot be conceived as a straightforward mechanism for mediating wider social practices, nor simply a personal belonging used to promote the political life of a community. Rather, it is a number of different things to a number of different people. Indeed, I suggest that Q Methodology has provided for this thesis is a methodological means of getting closer to the 'proliferation of alternatives' (Urry 1990: 21) regarding heritage.

As an identification process, Q Methodology provides for this thesis a means by which understandings of 'heritage' can be unearthed and recast, revealing a range of alternative heritage perspectives that conventional policymakers have failed to recognise. Q Methodology forcefully articulates the arguments and stances of stakeholders and interest groups, demonstrating that there is never a single way to view things. In documenting and mapping the range of ways people think about heritage, as well as capturing a snap-shot of Smith's AHD, this exercise has revealed both the anchoring weight and mutability of the AHD, which was seen to influence, in one way or another, all of the other discourses. It thus provides the clarity with which to interrogate the heritage policy field, and a number of different avenues of exploration that arise directly out of the factor interpretations offered here. This chapter was never intended to produce definitive results, but rather, 'feel' the rhetorical texture of the range of discourses in the heritage field, and the different ways by which heritage is conceptualised and talked about, and importantly, how these discourses 'talk past' one another. It is with these interpretations in mind that I turn to unpacking the orders of discourse that surround the heritage policy process in the following three phases of the case study.



# PART II

## THE LANGUAGE OF 'HERITAGE'



# THE DISCURSIVE BLUEPRINT

## A short history of 'heritage' policy

### INTRODUCTION: THE RHETORIC AND REALITY OF 'HERITAGE' POLICY

The preceding chapters pulled together a complex weave of theories and methodologies considered essential for making sense of the issues central to this thesis. The overarching focus of this thesis is 'heritage' policy in England, which will unfold in three stages: *The Discursive Blueprint* (the current chapter), which examines the development of key heritage policies in the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s; *New Labour, New Heritage* (Chapter 6), which charts policy changes emerging after the 1997 elections; and *Review and Reform* (Chapter 7), which concentrates on contemporary policy emphases, focusing on 'public value' debates and the effects of social inclusion discourses. Numerous planes of enquiry present themselves through these analyses, each revolving around the 'rhetoric' and 'reality' of the heritage management process, along with the points of disjuncture that flare up between them. Capturing this mix of vantage points requires that the analytical framework for the thesis extends beyond, but includes, a study of *language* for its own sake, and takes on an understanding of heritage as 'discourse-in-action' or 'discourse-as-social-practice'. In short, these chapters collectively examine the operationalisation and ideological effects of heritage discourse through close inspection of the linguistic features of a range of texts. The task, then, for the following three chapters is to examine the syntactical, grammatical and lexical constructions of 'heritage' that are internal to a collection of policy documents. The question at the heart of this task, quite simply, becomes how close or distinct are these internal and external constructions of 'heritage'? Moreover, is a particular discourse constitutive of the overall policy field, and thereby in a position to call upon rhetorical strategies that implicitly direct the interplay between these internal and external realities?



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As this is the first of three case studies all dealing with heritage policy in England, it is important to situate each chapter in relation to the others. The texts utilised for this case study are organised into three phases: *The Discursive Blueprint*, *New Labour, New Heritage* and *Review and Reform*. For the first of these phases, *The Discursive Blueprint*, I take the parliamentary debates surrounding the enactment of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979*, as well as the Act itself, as my primary data. In developing an understanding of the assumptions that underpin the dominant discourse, I then examine the parliamentary debates surrounding the *National Heritage Act 1983* for traces of intertextuality, again with a focus extended to the Act itself. The *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990* will also be considered briefly. All three are flagged up as key pieces of legislation underpinning the objectives of managing heritage in England (see, for example, DCMS 2002b, 2004a,b). This statutory protection is supplemented by guidance notes *Planning Policy Guidance Note 15: Planning and the Historic Environment*, and *Policy Guidance Note 16: Planning and Archaeology*, the former of which will be examined here. In particular, PPG15 provides a timely example of policy under review, with revisions to the Guidance published in 2005<sup>12</sup>. This will be considered alongside *Protecting our Heritage: A Consultation on the Built Heritage of England and Wales* as further examples of documents characterising this time period. This collection of documents provide the blueprint for subsequent policy initiatives discussed in later chapters: Chapter 6, *New Labour, New Heritage*, will analyse specific responses to the Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment: *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment* and *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future*. And finally, Chapter 7, *Review and Reform* will chart a number of current policy initiatives in the heritage sector: *The Heritage Protection Review (HPR)*; the social inclusion initiative sponsored *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment*; and English Heritage's conservation principles, *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance*. These documents were not sampled randomly, but were selected as those texts considered representative of the suite of documents concerned with 'heritage' and its management in England. They are also the documents most frequently referred to during the interview phase of this thesis in response to Question Two in the interview topic guide (Appendix 2).

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<sup>12</sup> The revisions were undertaken by both the Department for Environment and the formerly Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (now Department for Communities and Local Government).

This chapter will begin by offering a brief contextualisation of the heritage sector. This will be followed by an overview of both English Heritage and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport, focusing primarily on the aims and objectives of these organisations. From here, the chapter will adopt a chronological framing, and piece together what I have labelled the *Blueprint for Policy*. This blueprint is the formalisation of the AHD in early legislative and policy documents, and presents the framing of a particular representation of ‘heritage’ into a political language that would become increasingly familiar. This chapter will chart the arrival of the logic of that political discourse through the parliamentary debates and legislation developed in the 1970s and 1980s in a section entitled *Early Roots*. It will then proceed by examining how that logic was picked up and further legitimised in the 1990s with the union of planning and ‘the historic environment’. The chapter concludes by exploring the genre chain created in this timeframe and the institutionalisation of a national discourse-coalition built up around a specific idea of ‘heritage’.

### **DOCUMENTING HERITAGE: (RE)CREATING HERITAGE THROUGH POLICY**

This thesis tackles the complicated task of unpacking the discursive constructions of ‘heritage’ in an attempt to analyse how a particular idea of ‘heritage’ has been authorised and sustained in discourse, based upon Smith’s proposition of the existence of the AHD. This authorised discourse brings with it a number of consequences that play a significant role in maintaining the substantial gap between ‘rhetoric’ and ‘reality’, effectively reducing concepts such as ‘inclusion’, ‘participation’ and ‘plurality’ to mere rhetoric, or empty words. As such, the failure to translate ‘words’ into ‘actions’ cannot simply be explained as laudable ambition that is unable to be fulfilled. Indeed, the consequences extend much further than that, unconscious though they may be, and can carry both short- and long-term causal effects. It is at this point that CDA’s critical account of power becomes essential, which takes up an interest in the causal effects of texts. Important here are ideological effects, which contribute to social relations of power and domination (Fairclough 2003: 8). In order to make links between texts, social practices and a range of material consequences that trigger their own changes and realities, it is important to examine and accept these ideological effects of texts. In terms of the heritage management process, these effects can



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be examined by asking whether current reviews of heritage protection and the recurrence of talk of ‘social inclusion’, ‘participation’ and ‘civic engagement’ actually contribute to sustaining the dominant discourse and related power relations. It is my contention that while both contribute to sustaining the dominant discourse, and act to legitimise the status quo, it is also possible to reveal within this discursive space the extent to which these new storylines and discourses are *changing* the dominant discourse. This revelation can only take place by unpacking the internal workings of texts against an external understanding of the heritage sector as a social practice.

An important task for the following chapters is to piece together a context against which to make statements about the documents under analysis. To do so, it is necessary to first clarify the key players and organisations involved at that juncture where policy intentions translate through texts into policy realities. CDA is *precisely about* this juncture, and this thesis is *precisely about* unearthing the distinct properties of this juncture as it occurs within the heritage management process. This revolves around a variety of actors, organisations and institutions who together form the complex chain of social practices commonly referred to as the ‘Heritage Sector’. It is this chain of social practices that pieces together particular ways of being, includes a specific group of people and stakeholders, and exists within the distinct and durable structuring of that area of social life. The relationships bonding these social practices together bring a host of events, possibilities and elements into a network that encompasses the physical, psychological, sociological and linguistic (Fairclough 2000, 2003, 2001c,d). All of these events, possibilities and elements are distinct, but inflect and affect each other – they are dialectically related, with each element internalising the others and cementing (though not in a permanent and unchanging sense) that network into an enduring identity (Fairclough 2000: 144 – see also Fairclough 2001c, 2003). This networking constitutes the current social order of ‘heritage’ in England, and brings with it a semiotic aspect, the order of discourse, which directs the making of meanings, aligning some as dominant and others as marginal, the former of which flows across – and out of – the heritage sector more readily than the latter.

Two key heritage institutions, English Heritage (EH) and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport (DCMS), mediate this social order of ‘heritage’, and its

associated order of discourse, and in a sense control the authorised selection of possibilities for the management process in England. The Department for Culture, Media and Sport does this through its responsibility for policy relating to 'heritage', and English Heritage, as the non-departmental public body (NDPB) sponsored by the Department with the responsibility for managing 'heritage' in England, does so in a number of ways that will be discussed shortly (Barthel 1996, 18; Cowell 2004, 33; Waterton *in press*). The Department for Culture, Media and Sport and English Heritage intersect with a huge range of heritage organisations and interest groups including: the Heritage Lottery Fund, Historic Royal Palaces, the Royal Parks Agency, the Museums, Archives and Libraries Commission, Visit Britain, the National Trust, the Churches Conservation Trust, Occupied Royal Palaces, the Historic Houses Association and the Church of England (Clark 2004: 66; DCMS 2006e). These organisations and interest groups exist in a dialectical relationship with both DCMS and EH, with many of them closely monitored by DCMS in terms of performance. This monitoring will take the form of Public Service Agreements, for example, or something Gordon Brown (cited in Fairclough 2000: 121) has termed '*money for modernisation*'. Figure 5.1 (**Appendix 14**) offers a simplified overview of the structure of the heritage sector, and maps out how these various organisations relate to each other. However, for the purposes of this thesis, only DCMS and EH will be explored in finer detail.

### *The Department for Culture, Media and Sport*

The DCMS is the current government department responsible for formulating policy relating to heritage, or the historic environment, although strategic priorities for heritage will come also from the Department for Environment, Food and Rural Affairs (DEFRA) and Communities and Local Government (formerly the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (ODPM)<sup>13</sup>) (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> January 2007, c531WH ['Heritage', Mr John Whittingdale]). Prior to 1997, heritage, along with other areas including the arts, museums, galleries, libraries, film and export, tourism, broadcasting, press and sport were held under the Department of National Heritage (DNH), formed in April 1992 (Torkildsen 1999: 208).

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<sup>13</sup> The ODPM became Communities and Local Government on 5th May 2006, under the leadership of Ruth Kelly (Communities and Local Government 2006).



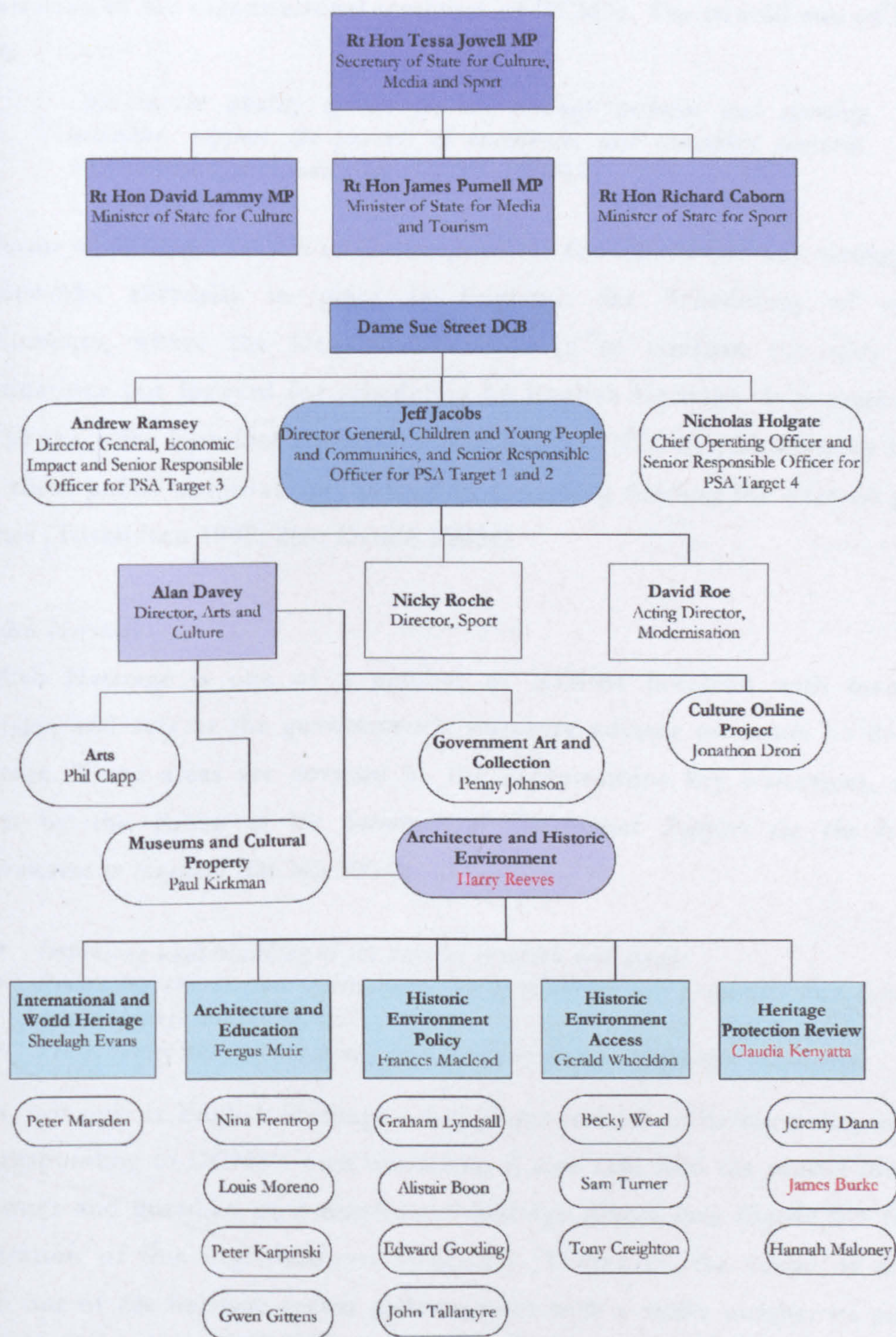


Figure 5.2: The Organisational Structure of DCMS

‘Heritage’ issues are located mainly within the Arts and Culture Directorate, which houses Architecture and Historic Environment, along with Arts, the Government Art Collection, Museums and Cultural Property, and Public Appointment, Honours and Modernisation Division (see Figure 5.2 for an



illustration of the organisational structure of DCMS). The overall aim of DCMS is to:

*Improve the quality of life for all through cultural and sporting activities, support the pursuit of excellence, and champion tourism, creative and leisure industries (DCMS 2006e).*

In terms of heritage, DCMS is also responsible for one of two key management frameworks currently in place in England: the Scheduling of ancient monuments, where the Department's role is to confirm (or not) those nominations put forward for scheduling by English Heritage. It is responsible for 39 executive Non-Departmental Public Bodies (NDPBs), 20 advisory bodies and three public corporations, as well as providing funding for over 60 public bodies (Torkildsen 1999: 209; DCMS 2005c).

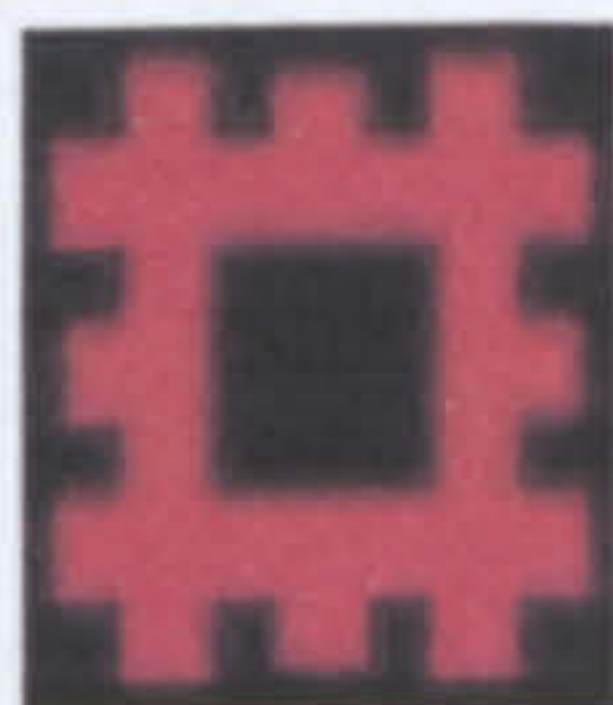
### *English Heritage*

English Heritage is one of a number of NDPBs involved with managing heritage, and acts as the government's statutory adviser on issues to do with heritage. Three areas are covered by the organisations key objectives, as set down by the *Review of the Structure of Government Support for the Historic Environment in England* (DCMS 2004b: 12):

- *Improving understanding of the past by research and study;*
- *Promoting the historic environment by opening up our properties and increasing access through education; and*
- *Protection of our historic places and ensuring change is managed sensitively.*

Thus, not only is English Heritage a key player in both initiating policy reform and responding to DCMS's own initiatives, it also taps into the tourist industry as owner and guardian of a number of heritage places (see Figure 5.3 for an illustration of this organisational structure). Therefore, the scope of EH to reach out of the heritage sector and intersect with a wider number of publics needs to be understood within the context of the authority that organisation carries (van Dijk 2001: 309). It also needs to be understood in terms of the effects this authority has for the longevity of its associated order of discourse. By way of example, this intersection with – or acknowledgement of – wider interest groups is witnessed to some degree in policy documents such as *Power of Place* and *A Force for our Future*, and work done by the Department of Properties and Outreach.





## THE ORGANISATION OF ENGLISH HERITAGE

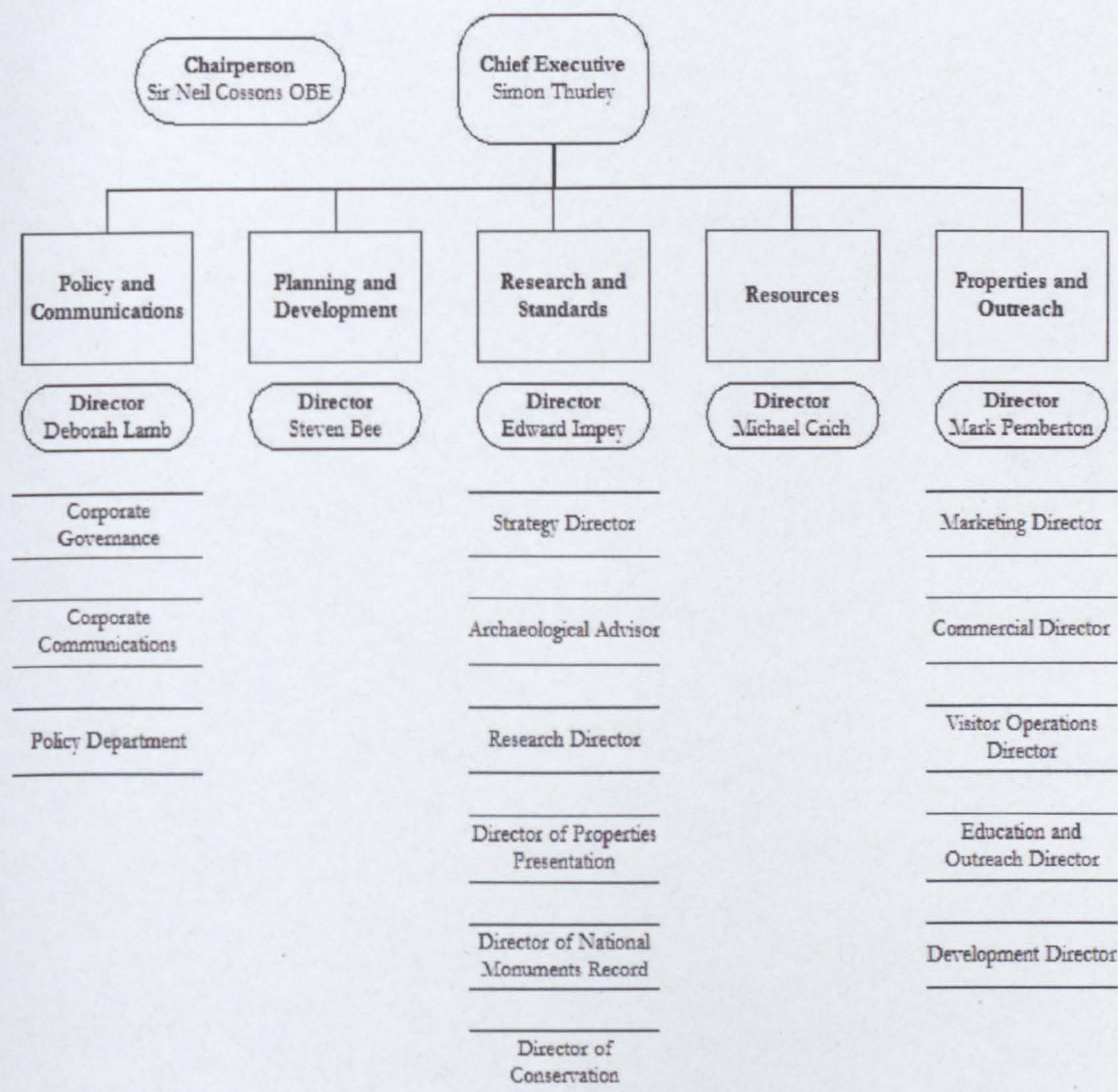


Figure 5.3: The Organisational Structure of English Heritage

Yet the broadened sense of 'heritage' that this intersection engenders continues to dissipate in discussions of legislation and policy, which are inevitably broken down into the comfortable categories of sites and monuments, buildings and conservation areas (see, for example, Ross 1991; Streeton 1996; Creigh-Tyte and Gallimore 1998; Dormor 1999; Campbell 2001; Pendlebury 2001; Pickard 2001).



The heritage sector also intersects with areas of tourism, specifically heritage tourism, and is thus subjected to the influences of market research and the requirements of providing a service. The intersection of heritage and tourism remains largely unchallenged in the policy arena, and can be said to operate around what Urry (1990: 11) identifies as the binary distinction between ‘the banal’ and ‘the extraordinary’. The messages implicit within the discourses mediating this area of policy will inevitably be influenced by, and influence, the discourses operating within the heritage sector. A larger number of people are exposed to the promotional medium of custodianship brochures, EH membership handbooks, and paraphernalia produced by *VisitBritain* and *EnjoyEngland*, along with the assumptions and evaluations they contain, whether implicit or explicit. That they are contained within authoritative acts, stamped with the identity of a dominant heritage organisation, maximises the effectiveness of those assumptions and evaluations (van Dijk 2001: 310). In short, EH and DCMS, in accordance with one element of ‘heritage’ being that of a touristic engagement, are able to shift meaning not just from one social practice into another, but also from one scale to another.

### **THE BLUEPRINT FOR POLICY: A CHRONOLOGY OF HERITAGE MANAGEMENT**

#### *Early Roots: Parliamentary debates and legislation in England*

The collective emergence of an intent to manage heritage in England can be traced to the mid-nineteenth century, and the combined establishment of the British Archaeological Association (BAA) in 1843, the Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings (SPAB) in 1877, and the first Ancient Monuments Protection Act of 1882. Concepts such as race and nationalism were extremely important at this time, as was an absolute belief in the scientific status of prehistoric archaeology (Murray 1989: 66). All three underpinnings were reflected in Sir John Lubbock’s ‘tireless advocacy’ of the bill, itself based upon the belief that “... *archaeological remains could be used to write the prehistory of Britain*” (Murray 1989: 56). However, while the legacy of this timeframe is important, the detail has been covered elsewhere, perhaps most notably by Murray (1989), and need not be repeated here (see, amongst others, Hunter 1981; Lowenthal and Binney 1981; Cleere 1984; Walsh 1992; Carman 1996; Champion 1996; Hunter 1996b; Miele 1996; Baker 1999; Pendelbury 2001; Emerick 2003 – see also Chapter 2; Baines 1924; Peers 1933). Rather, I am interested in picking out the evidentiary



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threads of the dominant discourse in its structural guise, enacted and renewed in a number of institutional settings. This type of analytical commentary rests on the idea of intertextuality, in which elements of one text surface, implicitly or explicitly, in elements of other texts. In conjunction with intertextuality, the analytical category of assumption will also perform important work, as the aim of this section is to reveal the background against which things continue to be said or left unsaid. One of the arguments I am attempting to build in this thesis is that the particular idea of heritage as made up of sites, monuments and buildings *does not appear to dominate, it appears as natural*: it is uncritically accepted as the 'commonsense' definition that underpins heritage management processes in England. It is consensual and accepted – an achievement arrived at through discursive means (Lazar 2005a: 7).

Reflecting on the historical development of heritage discourse is thus a relevant avenue of exploration in order to highlight the sentiments implicitly used to bolster current policy through intertextuality and assumption. In addition, it will crystallise a vision of 'heritage' that has been naturalised, and continues to work towards sustaining and shaping the parameters of social debate that surround 'heritage'. Ideas of 'national' importance, objective and immutable value, materiality, aesthetics and authenticity have acted as reference points for developing policy, becoming key markers by which to orientate an approach to the management and interpretation of 'heritage' (Jenkins 1996: 127). Thus, to be able to understand the dynamic these notions play in current heritage policy and management, it is also important to witness the processes that laid the foundations for this present state. The 'heritage chronology' outlined in this section unfolds as a discussion of the timeframe associated with the development of heritage management in England, but this is enhanced through reference to textual analysis.

The *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979* is a key piece of legislation underpinning the management of heritage in England. It superseded the Ancient Monuments Consolidation Act (1913) and the Ancient Monuments Protection Act (1882), signalling a renewed interest in the 'problem' of heritage. The following parliamentary extracts express this desire to reevaluate the management of heritage:

*My Lords, the first legislation in this country, which began the process of safeguarding the physical survivals of our past was enacted in 1882 ... is now in need of modernisation (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1979, vol 398 c454 ['Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.]', Baroness Stedman]).*

*The Bill makes better provision for preserving our past, or at least our knowledge of the past, for the future (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1979 vol 965 c1364 ['Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [Lords], Mr Kenneth Marks, The Under-Secretary of State for the Environment]).*

These two statements, one drawn from both the House of Commons and the other from the House of Lords, are characteristic of the debates surrounding the revision of the AMCA (1913) and the AMPA (1882).

*It is still possible that there may be objects, or buildings, or even parts of buildings which may be valued as part of our heritage for their intrinsic merit but which can claim neither to be great works of art nor to form significant documentary sources (Faulkner, Superintending Architect, Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Division, 1978: 454)*

This final extract, taken from a lecture delivered by P.A. Faulkner, Superintending Architect, Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings Division, Department of the Environment to the Royal Society of Arts, London, is similarly a response to the emergence of 'heritage' as a discursive topic and the desire to modernise existing legislation. These statements begin the reconstruction of specific arguments I want to develop, which surfaced in the 1970s during a period that saw 'heritage' quite suddenly become a political issue.

While traces of Enlightenment thought, Romanticism and antiquarianism are visible within the dominant heritage discourse, I have elected to connect the policy documents utilised in this chapter to the political and social contexts of the 1960s, 1970s and 1980s. Although as Harvey (2001) observes, the past as 'heritage' has a much longer history than is generally rehearsed in the heritage and conservation literature, as Smith (2006) points out, the idea of heritage began to be reworked and redeveloped during these decades. Indeed, it is these decades that are most commonly associated with the emergence of heritage management as a set of conservationist principles and procedures, and the enactment or emendation of legislative codes, around which ideas of 'heritage' were reworked (Walsh 1992; Fischer 1995; Wainwright 2000; Deckha 2004: 405; Littler and Naidoo 2004; Littler 2005; Smith 2006). Moreover, as Cleere (1989b:



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2) points out, the formal materialisation of a conservation ethic at this time was no coincidence, nor was it confined to the national level. Indeed, heritage 'issues' have continued to take shape in a number of spheres since this time, allowing conservation and management to become "... *one of the major ... social movements of our time*" (Samuel 1994: 25). This social movement of heritage management spans policy, academic and popular discourses, which together produce a list of readily identifiable heritage initiatives. For example, there was a proliferation, both nationally and internationally, of policy documents such as *The Venice Charter* (International Charter for the Conservation and Restoration of Monuments and Sites)(1964), *The World Heritage Convention* (Convention Concerning the Protection of the World Cultural and Natural Heritage)(1972) and the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* (1979) during this timeframe. The formalisation of a conservation ethic was underpinned by the increasingly vocal lobbying work of national interest groups such as *RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust* (1971), an organisation dedicated to the archaeological remains of Britain, *SAVE Britain's Heritage* (1975), which campaigned for endangered historic buildings, and *The Interpretation of Britain's Heritage* (1975) (Baker 1971: 280–285; Biddle 1971; Hogarth 1971; Thomas 1971; Walsh 1992; Wainwright 2000). Indeed, this sense of change, coupled with a palpable public response is likewise conjured by the following interview quotes:

*I mean the 70s, looking back, was a time of widening the perception of what heritage was, which was driven partly by the rescue archaeology stuff and by all the headlines of there being an archaeological site every half mile or so down the M5 (Interviewee Eight, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*Heritage in the 1970s was the sort of issue around which people kind of coalesced at the local level and became a kind of civil action, and I think it has moved away from that since (Interviewee Ten, English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

*The 1970s is characterised by a reaction to the wholesale clearance of areas of towns that had been left over since the Second World War. The building of tower blocks and the wiping away of terraced housing, and what everybody thought was a brave new world kind of highlighted in part something that quickly became sort of desolate places (Interviewee Twelve, English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005).*

This public agitation operated alongside international fervour to save Nubian sculptures threatened by the Aswan High Dam, and both Venice and Florence

from floods, for example (UNESCO 1970: 10). Both were accompanied by greater public attention to, and – importantly – consumption of, heritage (Darvill 1987; Barthel 1996; Smith 2006). As such, the wider impetus behind this reinvention of heritage as a *social movement* deserves further scrutiny.

The characterisation of ‘heritage’ I wish to develop from this timeframe is that of *heritage in crisis* or *the problem of heritage*, which offers a useful starting point for suggesting why heritage became a political issue. This characterisation naturally borrows from broader environmental concern brewing at that time, which Hajer (1995: 90) argues set the “... *dramaturgy of environmental politics*” to come. Economic expansion, warnings of global shortages, spectacular nuclear accidents, acid rain, huge growth in both urban and rural development, and thousands of miles of new motorways provided the urgency for reassessing the state of the natural and cultural worlds (Cleere 1989b; Hajer 1995, 1996; Wainwright 2000). Operating in conjunction with the environmental rhetoric of ‘the fragile earth’ and the ‘ecowarrior’, the prevailing image of heritage – both politically and popularly – became that of a ‘fragile, finite and non-renewable resource’ (McGimsey 1972; Lipe 1974, 1984; Fowler 1976; Barker 1977; Adovasio and Carlisle 1988; DoE 1990; McBryde 1992; Cleere 1993; Elia 1993; Hodder 1993; Wainwright 2000; Lucas 2001; Carman 2002 – see also Meadows *et al.* 1972). Not only was a distinct heritage crisis recognised, it was assumed to carry a universal or ‘common’ relevance. As such, the joint discourses of a ‘threatened’ and ‘common’ heritage combined to offer an apparently consensual view, which in turn prompted a need for action.

In the 1970s, commentators thus began to construct new understandings of heritage – not so much in terms of *what* that heritage was, but *how* it ought to be managed. Inevitably, this meant drawing on the work and advice of experts to tackle the ever-increasing complexity of problems facing the management of heritage, who worked to “... *transmit and maintain beliefs about the verity and applicability of particular forms of knowledge*” (Fischer 2003a: 33). In this case, the ‘particular form of knowledge’ drew heavily from the epistemological and ontological parameters favoured by archaeological, historical and architectural understandings of *the past*, rather than more socially relevant understandings of how it is experienced in *the present*. Emphasis was placed upon the material and the tangible, with monuments, sites and groups of buildings receiving central



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focus. It was these, after all, that were correctly considered finite, fragile and non-renewable, and thereby susceptible to the threats of development. A select group of experts, with the accepted capabilities of extracting inherent or innate meaning and significance from material 'relics' of the past, found themselves in a position of *defining* and *naming* that which was to be considered heritage.

At this point, the argument I want to draw out of this context rests with the extent to which the political problem of heritage was *socially* constructed, understood and problematised. Moreover, this socially constructed problem required a solution that shared, mobilised, and addressed that very same construction of the problem. Indeed, both 'problem' and 'solution' were institutionalised. In England, this institutionalisation was very much about offering a solution that sought to protect 'the past' as something that was perpetually in danger as non-renewable, fragile and material. The 1960s, 1970s and 1980s are thus central for two important reasons: first, they provided the context for the recognition of heritage as a social problem; and, second, they sponsored the first real attempts at tackling that problem. While the first of these issues has been tackled briefly here, trying to understand the consequences of the second of these two issues will form the bulk of the rest of this chapter.

At the centre of the statements drawn from Hansard and P.A. Faulkner is a technocratic and top-down approach dealing with a nationally based discourse (*our* heritage, *our* past, *our* knowledge) that is absolute and draws explicitly on the rights of future generations as a commonsense principle. From this, two things happen: first, a leap is made from the past to the future, to the detriment of the value 'heritage' carries in the present. An important consequence of this is that the important cultural *work* undertaken by people interacting with 'heritage' is ignored; and, second, smoothing over the very active cultural work done in the present, and focusing instead on more passively constructed responsibilities for future generations allows particularities to be generalised. From this, heritage becomes a static and monolithic object of the past, understood as dead – a survival of the past – valuable in terms of its ability to communicate a specific kind of knowledge to future generations. Moreover, heritage becomes an historical document. This initial insight into notions of an unproblematic relationship with 'the nation's past' finds immediate synergy with Factor Two

‘A’, or the AHD as identified in Chapter 4. The extent to which this affinity between text and discourse is complete is a point that warrants further reflection. A high level of abstraction is apparent, in which the most complex relationship between ‘heritage’ and people (in the present) is grammatically glossed over, with any differences diminished. This is not surprising. Indeed, generalising and suppressing difference offers the appearance of consensus, thus adding a perceived cogency to arguments made when attempting to make claims that will have policy implications at a national level (Fairclough 2003: 141). Thompson (1981: 28), then Chief Inspector of Ancient Monuments, Wales, reinforces the assumption that heritage is static, passive and in the past:

*There is perhaps an analogy between a ruin and an object in a museum: both are going to be displayed to the public, both come into custody requiring expensive conservation. Except in the case of an industrial monument or science museum where machinery is to function, the object of display is still and passive.*

This idea of consensus warrants further exploration, as it opens up the analysis to different repertoires of persuasion. These acts of persuasion allow a series of claims regarding ‘heritage’ to achieve a platform of inevitability, or to provide for themselves rhetorical self-sufficiency. In particular, I want to draw attention to statements made by Lord Mowbray and Stourton, which invoke a very strong sense of consensus and bolsters a particular vision’s factuality.

*The preservation of our heritage for future generations is a duty **that we are all agreed upon** (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1979 vol 398 c463, [‘Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.]’, Lord Mowbray and Stourton] *my emphasis*).*

Immediately, the authoritative legitimising technique of appealing to conformity – in other words, what it proposed is legitimate because ‘everybody says so’ – is recognisable (van Leeuwen 1999: 105). There is no sense of uncertainty or unease surrounding this statement; rather, it is simply the case that the preservation of heritage for future generations *is* a duty. In taking the continuation of Lord Mowbray and Stourton’s statement, the extent of this vision becomes apparent:

***Thus from our distant past** we have the Iron Age fort at Figsbury, Wiltshire, the famous Broch of Mousa in Shetland; Wideford Hill – that famous cairn – in Orkney, and the Roman theatre at Verulam, and hundreds of other ancient monuments (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1979 vol 398 c463, [‘Ancient Monuments and*



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*Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.]', Lord Mowbray and Stourton] my emphasis).*

Of particular relevance here is the discursive work undertaken by the utterances our heritage, we are all agreed upon and thus. In this case, the elaboration of the second part of the claim made by Lord Mowbray and Stourton asserts a high level of commitment to the idea of 'heritage' as confined to the distant past in the guise of tangible and monumental remains. This level of commitment is explicit in the first sentence, and is implicitly reinforced through the usage of the conjunctive adverb thus to join the semantic relations between the two sentences together. Our heritage thus becomes the list of ancient monuments offered by Lord Mowbray and Stourton. The following statement reinforces this perceived linkage between a tangible, distant past and 'heritage':

*Ancient monuments range from pre-historic settlements and burial mounds, through the survivals of Roman military occupation to Norman castles and medieval abbeys. It may not be so well known that ancient monuments in State care also include a number of unoccupied and mostly ruinous country houses of the 16<sup>th</sup> and 19<sup>th</sup> centuries, as well as several industrial monuments and fortifications of the 18<sup>th</sup> to 19<sup>th</sup> centuries. This illustrates our policy of attempting to preserve a representative sample of our heritage (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1979 vol 398 c454 [Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.], Baroness Stedman], my emphasis).*

In the Act itself, an ancient monument becomes:

*... any monument which appears to him [the Secretary of State] to be of national importance (AMAA 1979, Part 1, Section 1(3)).*

This includes:

- (a) any building, structure or work, whether above or below the surface of the land, and any cave or excavation;*
- (b) any site comprising the remains of any such building, structure or work or of any cave or excavation; and*
- (c) any site comprising, or comprising the remains of, any vehicle, vessel, aircraft or other movable structure or part thereof which neither constitutes nor forms part of any work which is a monument within paragraph (a) above (AMAA 1979, Part 3, Section 61(7)).*

The list strung together in the first of these extracts works to elaborate precisely what the idea of an ancient monument entails with the addition of the final sentence, which creates a discursive correlation between this list of ancient

monuments and a representative sample of our heritage, realised through the grammatical structuring of the statements, or the logic of appearances. This correlation is set up through a relation of equivalence, in which the meaning of our heritage, derives from, and is equivalent to, the illustrative list outlaid in the preceding sentences.

Of clear importance here are the ways by which 'heritage' assumes equivalence with sites, monuments and buildings of a defined timeframe, which thereby becomes a naturalised assumption. Once again, the conceptualisation arising out of policy documents is reminiscent of the interpretive framework that surrounded Factor Two 'A' in Chapter 4. This similarity is further enhanced with the following quote:

*The protection of our heritage is a subject which is of great interest. It is widely supported. The number of people who visit historic sites, historic houses and National Trust properties is a clear indication of the widespread interest on the part of our own people and visitors to this country (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 4<sup>th</sup> April 1979 vol 965 c1370, [Mr. Arthur Jones, Member of Parliament for Daventry]).*

Indeed, visitor figures to historic sites, houses and National Trust properties can only be a good, clear indication of interest if those things, and what people experience when visiting them, *are perceived to be* good, clear examples of 'heritage'. These debates reveal that the physical remains of the past, notions of intrinsic merit, and aesthetic or documentary values *are not only prioritised*, but also close down other potential considerations. One means of achieving this is evident through the use of value assumptions, triggered by the use of words such as safeguarding, which posits *physical survivals* of our past at the centre of heritage management issues, and is a duty, which semantically reinforces the priority of *future generations*. As well, both is of great interest and widely supported make explicit value assumptions about the worth of protecting 'heritage'. Interestingly, this interest is assessed in terms of the Secretary of State in the AMAA (1979, Part 3, Section 61(12):

*'Ancient Monument' means ... any other monument which in the opinion of the Secretary of State is of public interest by reason of the historic, architectural, traditional, artistic or archaeological interest attaching to it.*

These evaluative statements, in setting up clear and self-sufficient notions of heritage protection, work to undermine alternative views that might contest the



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sentiment of these statements: alternatives will be competing against a claim that already boasts both offensive and defensive resolve. In what amounts to another instance of authoritative legitimisation, in this case appeals to an established 'tradition', the criteria used to denote a monument of national importance (period, rarity, documentation, group value, survival/condition, fragility/vulnerability, diversity and potential) are not included. Instead, 'national importance', considered "... *a time-honoured phrase*" (Cookson 2000: 70), is left to the determination of the Secretary of State.

This idea of 'heritage' is also marked by the use of the possessive, plural pronoun 'our' (and also the definitive article 'the'), used here to refer not only to the list of historic sites, houses and National Trust properties, but also to a collective public categorised at the level of nation. Protecting 'our' national heritage produces an image of unity and consensus. It also, as Augoustinos *et al.* (2002: 115) point out, becomes a linguistic practice used to "... *reinforce the speaker's position as spokesperson for 'the nation'*". This idea of our heritage thus becomes an interesting analytical point, especially when utilised as part of a logic of equivalence. While our may at first appear to be an indication of inclusivity, it is important to bear in mind that the *type* of 'heritage' privileged in this exchange belongs almost exclusively to the white middle and upper classes (Littler 2005: 2–3; Barthel 1996: 27). As such, there is a subtle opposition at play here between 'them' and 'us', 'ours' and 'theirs' without recourse to an explicit drawing of the boundaries between the different groupings.

In his paper delivered at the Arts Council's *Whose Heritage? Conference* in 1999, Stuart Hall (1999: 4) made a related point that questions the implications of a narrowly defined construction of heritage: "*It follows that those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly belong*". A very deep division is thus set up between our (white, middle-class visions) and their (alternative ways of envisioning 'heritage'). Further, our is left under-explored and unchallenged, remaining elusive and vague, thereby becoming an appropriate pronoun to cater for an equally elusive and seemingly homogenous white middle and upper classes. In short, it becomes a textually enacted universal, itself an important repertoire in the construction of an appearance of consensus, but also in terms of allowing a distinct and exclusionary impression of 'heritage' to become natural and representative of an illusory our.

This characteristic locates the analysis within the complicated terrain of class and ethnicity, not only in the sense of an implicit persuasion through the above use of our, but also in debates that more explicitly touch upon existential assumptions as well as value assumptions:

*Lower income houses survive which, it is arguable, should be preserved as illustrating social conditions of their time, being, as such, a basic if lamentable contribution to our cultural history. But are they? Have they the validity required of a document? Re-condition them, bring them up to date and they may have a certain vicarious charm ... but do not let us fool ourselves into thinking that they are any longer illustrative of the national historic heritage or that they have any validity as historic documents (Faulkner 1978: 455–456).*

The issue here does not rest with houses, themselves, as an entity of ‘heritage’. Indeed, *Country Life* in 1937 highlighted the urgency in preserving country houses, as did *The National Trust* with their launching of the ‘National Trust Country House Scheme’, in 1936 (Hunter 1996a: 10; Mandler 1997: 256). What is at issue is the preservation of *lower income housing*, a point highlighted by contrastive semantic relations between sentences in this extract: But are they? and ... but do not let us fool ourselves. The juxtaposition of an implicitly class-bound discussion with an explicit commitment to a national historic heritage viewed as a valid documentary source reinforces this important evaluative work. The two judiciously combine to undermine the ability of lower-income culture to inform a nationally based heritage discourse, rationalised through arguments of validity, and ultimately, truth. This type of housing will not tell the ‘truth’ about our cultural history. Again, the ‘our’ performs telling discursive work of exclusion.

The notion of distancing the uses of heritage from present generations is repeated throughout the debates:

*Perhaps I should explain that an ancient monument may be any man-made structure or other work, whether buried or upstanding, of archaeological, historical or architectural importance. In practice, the structures with which this legislation is concerned are usually ruinous, or at any rate no longer of much use for current social or economic purposes (Hansard House of Lords, 5<sup>th</sup> February 1979 vol 398 c454 [Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Bill [H.L.], Baroness Stedman], my emphasis).*



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Here, assessing the social relevance, value and purpose of 'heritage' in no way offers a sense of legitimisation or justification for the existence of a heritage management framework in legislation. Rather, the values or explanations underpinning this legislation are based upon the authority of academic understandings of archaeological, historical and architectural importance. It may also be an implicit reminder of the most popular objections to its predecessor, the *Ancient Monuments Protection Bill (1882)*, which were fuelled by a fear that the bill might pose a very real attack on private property rights (Murray 1989: 62). Indeed, the arguments continued that if monuments lay on private property and *"... were not protected by interest and reverence then the monuments in question clearly were not important enough"* (Murray 1989: 62, emphasis added). Importance, remarks Murray (1989: 62), refers to aesthetic or historical association. Further, only the 'relic' and the 'dead' would be preserved in perpetuity. The semantic relations organising these sentences set up a classification, or oppositional relationship, between the positive logic of archaeology, history and architecture and the negative concepts of social and economic purpose. The present need not be acknowledged because the persuasive thrust of current debates has already established a focus solely on the rights of the future, and previous debates had already responded to the apparent indelibility of private property rights in the present. It is thus these 'future' rights that assume relevance in this argumentative construction, such that the point can be pushed that *present social and economic purpose* becomes a criteria in itself for determining what does or does not qualify as 'heritage'. The phrase ... at any rate, as a marker of an additive and contrastive semantic relation, makes it clear that in no eventuality – indeed, no matter how you look at it – will heritage yield much in the way of current social or economic value, and thus, by corollary, anything that *does* have much in the way of social or economic value *will not* meet the criteria for heritage. Heritage again becomes ruinous, something firmly located in the past that needs to be preserved, rather than something that is generated and engaged with continuously in the present (Augoustinos *et al.* 2002: 120).

The rhetorical task of persuasion flows from the extracts quoted in this section, as they put together a comprehensive veneer of consensus. Edwards and Potter (1992: 109–112) explore this idea of consensus, and make the point that it is not at its most powerful when it is explicitly stated but, rather, consensus does its

most persuasive work when readers construct this understanding of consensus for themselves. In the parliamentary debates surrounding the consolidation of the AMAA, this sense of consensus emerges most forcefully from the dialogically closed and authoritative style of the statements. On the one hand, this is a product of the context within which the exchanges take place, that of public political discourse, but on the other hand, it is a product of assumption, evaluation and modalisation. It is unsurprising, based on literature reviewed in Chapter 2, that in these earlier debates a distinct articulation of Factor Two 'A', identified as the AHD, is obvious. At this stage, the discourse emanating out of the parliamentary debates and resultant policy is not composite of a range of discourses, but remains an unadulterated version of the stereotypical AHD.

*The Emergence of 'Heritage': The National Heritage Act 1983*

As one strand of the argument upon which this chapter is based draws upon the idea of intertextuality, part of the purpose of this heritage chronology is to identify themes, commonalities and differences that can be realised in the linguistic features that occur across a number of texts. The above section, *Early Roots*, began the analysis by examining the semantic and linguistic features of parliamentary debate surrounding the enactment of the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* of 1979. This section primarily visits parliamentary debates from the House of Lords, with emphasis this time on those discussions surrounding the passing of The National Heritage Act of 1983, enacted four years after the AMAA of 1979. My decision to focus on the House of Lords draws primarily from the volume of debate undertaken in between the first and second readings in the House of Commons, as pointed out by Mr David Clarke (South Shields):

*"...The Lordships made major improvements and knocked an ill-defined and ill-thought out Bill into something meaningful" (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1983 vol 37 c 1072).*

The NHA adds to the discursive framing of heritage, and functions – along with the AMAA – to define in a legalistic sense what McGuigan (2004: 35) refers to as the 'real world' of heritage, which works to position agents, producers, consumers, facilitators and citizens within its discursive spaces. It therefore provides another layer for analysis, not only because it is a major defining platform for English Heritage and its operations (DCMS 2002b: 6; DCMS 2004b:



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12), but also because it represents a significantly similar outlook to that outlaid in the above section. Of particular interest here is that the NHA lays out the principle powers and purposes of English Heritage, which are themselves guided by the statutory framework established by the AMAA (DCMS 2002b: 6; DCMS 2004b: 12).

While the NHA broadly covers two distinct issues – (1) to change the governance of four national heritage institutions and (2) to establish a new Commission (Lord Kennet, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1982c: 930) – this section will focus primarily on the second of these issues:

*... the establishment of a new Commission for Ancient Monuments and Historic Buildings for England, to carry out various functions in respect of those parts of our national heritage (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c984 [National Heritage Bill [H.L.], The Earl of Avon]).*

With the establishment of this Commission, the Government also sought to extend the uses of that heritage by acknowledging the commercial, touristic and educational ends it might meet:

*... the Government look for an imaginative approach to the presentation of our national heritage and the development of the commercial and tourist opportunities which they present, and a new approach to the educational use of the heritage (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c987 [National Heritage Bill [H.L.], The Earl of Avon]).*

*... the commission will contain valuable expertise, both on archaeological and historic matters, and also on the development of tourist potential and educational issues for heritage properties generally (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1048 [National Heritage Bill [H.L.], The Earl of Avon]).*

What is interesting immediately here is the overt indication of a broadening of heritage uses, but how consistently does this play out in a given *sequence* of speech acts? For example, in this instance, the speaker – and government – is proposing the desirability of something new and innovative. To make that statement is more or less straightforward. The point at which that statement becomes worthy of note, however, is when justifications, authorisations and expansions are later utilised to substantiate that statement. It is at this point that the speaker may draw upon historical references, memory or already embedded assumptions – a revelatory act for discourse analysis – to perform justificatory or

explanatory work, which draws parallels with what is sometimes referred to as the ‘immanentist view’ (Hajer 1996: 55 – see also Fischer 2003a: 85). This is used in relation to the concept of ‘positioning’ through historical continuity, in which past situated speech acts provide resources for speakers to call upon in order to situate themselves in the present (Davies and Harré 1990: 43). Here, the historical continuity of existential, propositional and value assumptions, along with their logical implications and appeals to legitimisation, are uttered, reproduced and upheld through discourse. The subtle conceptualisation that links the ‘immanentist view’ with ideas of ‘discursive formulations’ is that of the storyline, “... *which suggest[s] unity in the bewildering variety of separate discursive component parts of a problem*” like heritage, then routinised into “... *‘the way one talks’ on this sort of occasion*” (Hajer 1996: 56–57 – see also Gee 1999). A consequence of this routinisation, or the adoption of a dominant storyline, is that heritage debates are often argued in terms set by that routinisation or storyline, rather than on the specific terms of alternative perspectives (Hajer 1996: 57).

Exploring ideas of the routinisation of ‘heritage’ by implication becomes an exploration of discursive hegemony, an apt point when discussing an Act that sets up the functions and powers of a heritage institution; perhaps *the* heritage institution in England. Of specific interest here, then, are the definitions, arrangements and parameters of function that translate from debate into policy.

*It is in the interest of all those concerned with the heritage to make quite sure that this commission works. Above all, let us remember the interests of the future generations of this country and of many people all over the world. It is for their benefit that museums, historic sites, buildings and gardens must have sufficient resources and should be administered and preserved with imagination, dedication and skill – qualities which we as a nation claim to have pride in possessing (Hansard House of Lords Debates 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1007 [‘National Heritage Bill [H.L.]’, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu, House of Lords]).*

*What the Service does now and what the commission will have to do is to record our architectural heritage, to inspect, maintain, manage and present them – that is the parts of it that are not covered by other bodies – and to use the formidable authority (I was very glad to see this in the Bill) that it should develop to encourage greater understanding of our heritage among the public, and particularly, I hope, to develop a love of architecture and an understanding of it among children in schools (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 1022 [‘National Heritage Bill [H.L.]’, Lord Gibson]).*



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The above quotes transmit messages about a number of things. However, one of the more marked points that emerge from these quotes is the occurrence of what appears to be a form of discursive closure that surrounds 'heritage'. This allows the nature of 'heritage', a complex and conflict-ridden cultural practice, to be reduced and distilled, resulting in a remarkable loss of meaning by utilising the storyline that sees 'heritage' as a physical, immutable object to be preserved for and presented to future generations. A sense of what 'heritage' is understood to be emerges from discursive labour that both manufactures, and is manufactured by, that imaginative process. This storyline is entirely reminiscent of that found in the AMAA and as a consequence Factor Two 'A' or the stereotypical AHD, despite a handful of key statements and phrases that attempt to pull a broader construction of 'heritage' into play.

A crucial emphasis invoked by these passages is the idea of 'the nation', which is explicitly summoned by the first speaker, and implicitly implied by the language employed by the second speaker, again through reference to 'our heritage'. As well, there is a sense of a more modernist proclamation of nationalism, in which preservation becomes a marker of a civilised and dedicated nation, or, borrowing from Benedict Anderson (1983), an *imagined community*. In this sense, 'heritage' is used to define a sense of national community. This community is devoid of complexity, inequality and differentiation, and is suitably represented by an equally oversimplified and homogenous 'heritage', along with an idealised historical experience (Graham *et al.* 2000: 57). The search for an authentic 'past', symbolic of the nation, is a guiding principle underpinning the AHD. In reference to this idea of 'heritage', the second statement also demonstrates very strong commitments to a particular style considered necessary for managing that heritage. The entirety of the statement made by Lord Gibson shows his commitment to the truth of his propositions regarding what the Commission does and will do, and signals certainty and finality. This, in large part, is the work of modality, marked out by the archetypical modal verbs such as will have, it is and must have, which reveal Lord Gibson's stance, or affinity, with what he is talking about (Fairclough 2003: 166; Hodge and Kress 1988). These modal verbs are attached to an epistemic knowledge exchange associated with asserted, positive statements (Fairclough 2003: 168–169). Together, these textual clues suggest that there is no reluctance on the part of Lord Gibson in terms of his

belief regarding ‘heritage’. He identifies himself as having a propensity towards architectural forms of heritage, and as an avid believer in the role of the ‘expert’ or ‘authority’, illustrated by his declarative statement regarding formidable authority, and reinforced by his ability to make such statements on behalf of we and us – as echoed by Lord Montagu’s reference to people all over the world.

The power of prediction offered by Lord Gibson, particularly in terms of the functions of the formidable authority, is suggestive of an assumed value not specifically triggered in the text, but remaining an implicit undercurrent. This undercurrent draws parallels with notions of stewardship and public heritage, explicitly revealed in the deontic modality prescribed by let us remember the interests of, spoken by Lord Montagu, in which accountability to the public becomes paramount. The questions this statement triggers can be usefully elaborated by drawing on arguments put forward by Zimmerman (1998) regarding the past as public heritage. Here, perceived universal rights, a common heritage, and ‘the public’ work in perfect tandem with the idea of a formidable authority, whose function is to encourage greater understanding of our heritage among the public and inspect, maintain, manage and present it. People – different interest groups and stakeholders – along with the cultural process of engaging with heritage, are abstracted from the management process, and experts (or the Commission) are assumed to hold the legitimate position of authority for asserting control over heritage, particularly in terms of arbitrating which meanings and values become socially permissible and socially relevant (Gosden 1992: 806; Smith 2004). Thus, while the label ‘the public’ is frequently banded about, there is no distinct role designated for them within the management process, rather, this ostensibly homogenous group are the delegated *recipients* of the management process in the form of education, understanding and information (Waterton 2004: 318–319). The axiom that ‘heritage’ acquires value “... *because of, and through our desires*” (Lahn 1996: 4) is quickly naturalised into the belief that ‘heritage’ is valuable because ‘our’ experts tell us so. An example of how this sentiment translated from parliamentary debate into practice can be seen in the following:

... “*ancient monument*” means any structure, work, site, garden or area **which in the Commission’s opinion is of historic, architectural, traditional, artistic or archaeological interest** (NHA 1983: 21, *emphasis added*).



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This process of filtering heritage through the privileged hands of a few finds legitimacy in both the extract above and those indented earlier, through an appeal to authorisations, rationalisations and moral evaluations as constructed in discourse. ... let us remember, for example, refers to an already determined sentiment that, while not explicitly explored, is granted authority. It is for their benefit signals the use of instrumental rationalisation (van Leeuwen and Wodak 1999: 105), in which the needs of future generations become the generalised, moral logic behind the means of management proposed. Indeed, this is fully stated by the Earl of Avon within the context of these parliamentary debates:

*The Government's first priority is to preserve and protect monuments for future generations (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1047 ['National Heritage Bill [H.L.]', The Earl of Avon – see also Hansard House of Commons Debates, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1983 vol 37 c 1081 ['National Heritage Bill [Lords]', Mr Christopher Murphy (Welwyn and Hatfield)).*

The 'rights' of future generations are thus reinforced as a commonsense principle, and are used to legitimate the directions taken by management principles. The idea of continual transference, as highlighted by Factors One and Two 'A', operates with the acceptance that heritage is an inheritance achieved by active preservation for future generations. Interestingly, the staunch acceptance of this relationship by Factor Two 'A' is explicitly challenged here with the introduction of the needs of present generations. Indeed, while this moral logic is appealed to on numerous occasions, the debates undertaken in reference to the NHA (1983) differ significantly from those regarding the AMAA (1979), in that this sentiment is explicitly contested:

*The preservation of the heritage for the future does not and must not rule out its enjoyment and appreciation by the present generation (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1026 ['National Heritage Bill [H.L.]', Lord Mowbray and Stourton]).*

Moreover, this conflict of interests was borne out in favour of Lord Mowbray and Stourton, as is reflected in the duties of the Commission laid out in the Act.

*... [I]t shall be the duty of the Commission (so far as practicable)...to promote the public's enjoyment of, and advance their knowledge of, ancient monuments and historic buildings situated in England and their preservation (NHA 1983: 20).*

The above sees a certain relaxing of Factor Two 'A' and the emergence of those characteristics used to interpret and define Factor One, which I see as a relaxed version of the AHD. Thus, it is necessary to pause and further unpack the discursive re-texturing undertaken here. Indeed, this shift in the texturing of the dominant discourse needs qualification, as while present generations are referred to, they are still not afforded active roles in the management process. Present generations are excluded from debates surrounding what *goes into* the management process, but are considered the beneficiaries of the process nonetheless by virtue of their role in terms of *outcomes*: to be educated and informed. These are concepts of paramount importance to Factor One, which likewise adheres to notions of patrimony and duty of care. It is possible that what we see here is a moment of hybridization, in which appeals to the AHD are relaxed and re-woven into a subtly different discourse.

During these parliamentary debates, assessments were made about the state of heritage legislation as it stood:

*The general tenor of this debate is that this is something which is not adequately done at the moment and that we ought to try and put right. In that context I turn to the business of recording the heritage because this, after all, is the fundamental thing lying behind the overall care of it. We must start by knowing of what the heritage consists, and the most important characteristics of the buildings that comprise it (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol c1035–1036 ['National Heritage Bill [H.L.],' Lord Sandford]).*

*We have achieved much. It is a century since the passing of the Ancient Monuments Protection Act 1882. In that time we in this country have built up a network of legislation and organisations for the protection of ancient monuments and historic buildings, and a tradition which is envied throughout the world (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1025 ['National Heritage Bill [H.L.],' Lord Mowbray and Stourton]).'*

*I should like to explain why I support this Bill's central issue, which is the preservation of our nation's heritage, whether the exhibits of our most famous museum institutions, or the ancient monuments which are all that remain of our most distant past, or the historic buildings with which our land is so richly endowed (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1026 ['National Heritage Bill [H.L.],' Lord Mowbray and Stourton]).*

While both speakers offer different assessments of legislation framing the management of heritage in England at this particular time, an essential



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commonality flows across the statements that they make. In particular, while they attempt to present insights into the management of heritage, as the sequence of debate unfolds objectives of broadening ‘heritage’ quickly begin to fall short, as it becomes clear that this is not at issue at all. Indeed, the semantic relations between the statements uttered are quite telling. Both adopt elaborative techniques to pad out the information they have provided, and in utilising these elaborative additions, reveal the dominant storyline or embedded assumption to which they are appealing. This is bound up with the recurrent notion of heritage as being comprised of sites, monuments and, in one case, specifically buildings. Again, this storyline is reminiscent of those that animate Factors One and Two ‘A’, with their emphasis on materiality – a notion that is particularly expressive of the AHD. Once again, it is possible to see, to quote Smith (2006: 11) a “... *rounding up of the usual suspects*”. This is also witnessed in the following paragraph:

*We in this country have a particularly rich inheritance of ancient and historic monuments that have come down to us in a more or less well preserved state throughout their life. I am sure that we have all visited a good cross-section of the great historic sites in the country, many of which are the responsibility of the Government. The more industrious and well-informed of us may well have gone in search of the less well-known field sites, which, nonetheless, have much to tell the discerning eye. These are usually scheduled monuments. Obviously, we should like to see our children have the same opportunity we have to study their history on the ground (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1026 [‘National Heritage Bill [H.L.]’, Lord Mowbray and Stourton]).*

Like many other instances of speech used in this chapter to illustrate the naturalisation of an authorised heritage discourse, the speaker calls upon a “...*blueprint metaphor of discourse*” (Tomlin *et al.* 1997: 64) that belies the conceptual understanding of heritage upon which the speaker bases his argument. Lord Mowbray and Stourton also signals himself as ‘*more industrious and well-informed*’, thereby transmitting two important messages to his listeners: one, that he is in a position to make considered judgements about ‘great historic sites’, a point reinforced not only by his parliamentary position, but more specifically, by his membership of the aristocracy; and, two, that these sites usually take the form of a monument. As Hajer (1996: 63) argues, the power of delivery couched in the expertise the author has here established for himself, and drawing on a storyline that has its own discursive identity makes things *sound right*. This is not harmed by the authority already vested in the title ‘Lord’, itself, which – as part of the

performance of heritage tied up with the House of Lords – allows Lord Mowbray and Stourton a position from which to speak and be heard. Therefore, without calling up a great deal of detail, Lord Mowbray and Stourton is able to convey his own conceptual representation – or blueprint – of heritage through the referents he has selected for his audience to hear. An interesting point to consider comes with a comparison of these parliamentary debates and the actual text of the NHA, especially with relation to the conceptual representation of heritage that is utilised. To this point, one argument I have been building up is that heritage, in this timeframe, was considered synonymous with sites, buildings, monuments and conservations areas. How this is dealt with in parliamentary debates has a lot to do with the referential organisation of discourse, which assumed a large corpus of information in common. In the debates surrounding the formulation of the NHA, heritage, monuments, sites, buildings and conservation areas are not explicitly defined, do not require introduction and are taken to be readily accessible by the audience. By contrast, the referential organisation of the NHA relies completely upon targeting specific information, and the assumption that the audience will need explicit assistance in unpacking the meaning of such words (Tomlin *et al.* 1997: 70). Already, a meaningful argument can be constructed about different conceptions of heritage based upon this assumption of focus organisation, by critically examining the use of the dominant storyline. In subscribing to a shared storyline of heritage, the parliamentary debate is marked by a move away from discussions regarding what heritage is, thereby reducing the discursive complexity of the issue. The assumption is clear – there is only one way of thinking about heritage, and this is illustrated by the permanence of that particular heritage storyline in the debates. However, this idea of permanence dissipates in the putting together of the Act, which assumes there will be a number of storylines incapable of automatically operationalising the dominant discursive format. To combat this, the Act provides clear definitions. It also marks the beginning of a broadening of access to those definitions, and thus the strengthening of the discursive affinity of that particular storyline. This is exemplified by the following suggested amendment:

*We feel strongly that it is necessary for something to be in the Bill to direct the commission on its duties to pull everything together on the heritage front, and make sure that all the appropriate bodies are working together [and therefore propose the following amendment]:*



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*The commission shall be responsible for the overall management and presentation to the public of the national heritage of England of ancient monuments, archaeological areas, and buildings, areas and designed landscapes of special historical or architectural interest either alone or together with the Secretary of State or any other appropriate body (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1982 vol c437 830 [‘National Heritage Bill [H.L.]’, Lord Montagu of Beaulieu]).*

The amendment aims to ensure that all relevant bodies are pulled into a cohesive discourse coalition that operates around the same assumptions and storyline. The imperative here is not expanding the functions of the Commission – both speaker and listeners already share an understanding of those – instead, the new information put forward revolves around the dissemination of those common assumptions. In short, while the parliamentary debates are two-way, with a certain degree of flexibility in terms of dialogue (although tightly regulated by tradition), the core of the issue is still remarkably exclusionary. This exclusionary nature is translated, wholesale, into the language of the one-way communication of a piece of legislation, a central pivot in the order of discourse surrounding heritage management. In one instance, communication is dialogically closed by virtue of the people involved, and in the second instance, communication is dialogically closed by virtue of genre. Either way, it sends clear messages about the naturalisation of the dominant heritage discourse.

An imperative to engage with the public is clear in the following Hansard extract:

*It is felt especially by the archaeologists that, since the public at large and local authorities and developers in particular **need** education and instruction, or perhaps we should now say “educational facilities”, with regard to the meaning and significance of archaeological sites, this should be put in now ... In this context there is a **special need** to include both “archaeological areas”, a new concept to the public, and “sites” which is a concept of great richness and a true indication of the extraordinary wealth of the archaeological heritage in England (Hansard House of Lords Debates 16<sup>th</sup> December 1982 vol 437 c829-830 [‘National Heritage Bill H.L.’, Baroness Birk], my emphasis added).*

I have highlighted the ‘needs’ which characterise this statement, which revolve around ‘*the meaning and significance of archaeological sites*’. The modal verb ‘need’ is used to convey the degree of commitment that the speaker feels for what she is uttering, thereby distinguishing the above as a statement with deontic (obligational) modality linked to an evaluation of heritage (Fairclough 2003: 173). Here, the degree of modality is high, and is coupled with an assumed



unidirectional flow of 'instruction' regarding the assessment of significance and meaning of heritage, taken, here, to be the remit of an overarching authority. The public are to be 'instructed' and 'educated': they are to be taught, shown or learnt. This unproblematically assumes that the significances, meanings and values tied up with heritage are of a nature that is more readily accessible by experts (i.e. archaeologists), and are thus not necessarily apparent to 'the public' at large. It is not necessary to point out again the recurrence of sites and archaeological areas in this authorised discourse, even in terms of their semantic relations. That they fall within the boundaries of a national heritage narrative is clear. What does need highlighting in this passage, however, is the assumption that allows 'need', 'educate', 'instruct' and 'archaeological heritage in England' to hang so seamlessly together. That assumption is that there is no conceptualisation of heritage outside of those boundaries: there is no room allowed for public issues; there is no allowance of the negotiation of a sense of place and identity; and there is no place for alternative constructions of heritage that may begin with communities themselves.

It is worth noting that these debates also initiate a concern for the commodification of heritage, both in terms of its negative and positive effects.

*But the public is knocking at the door. We now have to defend not only the keeper's scholarship and passion for acquisitions which, in a modest way, I share myself, but to add a growing range of services to the world outside the museum (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 14<sup>th</sup> December 1982 vol 437 503 [Viscount Eccles, 'National Heritage Bill H.L.']).*

*I do not think that those who fear hordes of trippers and hundreds of children scampering round these precious buildings need be alarmed, because good promotion, good management of visitors, good behaviour by visitors, higher income from takings and a deeper appreciation of the heritage, all go hand in hand (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> November 1982 vol 436 c1037 ['National Heritage Bill [H.L.]', Lord Sandford], my emphasis).*

The recurrence of the definite article *the* heritage, reminiscent of arguments developed earlier, reinforces the idea that 'heritage' is singular and already defined. Appeals illustrated earlier to the enjoyment of the 'visitor', both from England and from overseas, signals recognition of the contribution of that specific and definitive 'heritage' is able to make to the tourist industry. It also firmly places 'the public' in the role of consumer and this idea of 'the heritage' in the role of 'consumed'. Further, it is a sentiment reflective of broader, macro-



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developments, which saw tourism bloom into a massive, global industry during the 1980s (Boissevain 2002: x). The sense of instruction and education discussed above is still implicitly recognisable in the accounts of tourism offered by Viscount Eccles and Lord Sandford. For Viscount Eccles, this commodification is represented in a manner similar to Kopytoff's (1986: 64) notion of the 'rights' of 'the public', however begrudgingly these are acknowledged, and the use of 'heritage' is redefined from an acquisition for acquisition's sake within the museum, to a range of services that spill far beyond museums. For Lord Sanford, this commodification is much more tangible and is almost entirely explained through the language of visitor management and exchange. Like the homogenous language already employed in this document to talk about heritage, this appeal to commodification similarly signals a move to diminish the diverse constructions of heritage into "... *sites equivalent as potential places to visit*" (Coleman and Crang 2002: 3).

The work of this notion of commodification, along with the distinct and limited involvement of 'the public' within the management process, covertly leads us to discussions of the relationship between this commodified past, the public and 'the expert'. The NHA began pencilling in the role of heritage as a consumerable product best understood by experts. This dual role is replicated throughout both the NHA documents itself, and the parliamentary debates that surrounded its enactment. Indeed, the Commission was to be *the* 'heritage expert' on '*the* heritage', both advising and informing all other interested parties about '*the* heritage'. As the expert body, the Commission was to cover the following:

*The commissioners have to be able to cover historic houses, archaeology, ancient monuments and a number of other subjects (Hansard House of Lords Debates 16<sup>th</sup> December 1982 vol 437 c802 ['National Heritage Bill H.L.', Baroness Birk]).*

*We have here a very detailed list of the qualities which are to be represented on the commission; namely, archaeology, architecture, the history of architecture, the preservation or conservation of monuments or buildings, tourism, commerce and finance (Hansard House of Lords Debates, 16<sup>th</sup> December 1982 vol 437 c810 ['National Heritage Bill H.L.' Lord Kennet]).*

In clear expert style, these functions are authoritative, and are implicitly based upon the categorical assertions that heritage consists of archaeology, ancient monuments and historic houses.

*If the commission is to do its job properly, **it is essential** that it has at its disposal experienced staff expert in **all** branches of research work. In the archaeological field it must have archaeologists; with monuments it must have the equivalent of the inspectorate of ancient monuments, and with buildings it needs to have architectural historians. **All of these kind of people** are needed to study and advise on research into the past, **so that mistakes are not made** in the care of archaeological areas and monuments, nor in identifying buildings that are genuinely outstanding for their historic or architectural interest (Hansard House of Lords Debates 16<sup>th</sup> December 1982 vol 437 c833 [‘National Heritage Bill H.L., Baroness Birk’], my emphasis added).*

Again, particular phrases and words have been highlighted to indicate the non-mediated style of expertise desired. Communicating, entering into dialogue, pursuing participation and deliberation are not high on the list of priorities for managing heritage. Indeed, in all branches of research work, coupled with the additive statements outlining the requirements of each area of research work, as the speaker sees it, omits any mention of the social and cultural dimensions of heritage. It is thus not a new point for this analysis to make, simply a new guise for it to unpack. Heritage is a specific ensemble of *things*: *Things* that can most usefully be understood through research into the past that is driven by historians, archaeologists and the inspectorate of ancient monuments. While research value is only one of a number of values placed on such things, for Baroness Birk, it is *the* value. Likewise, while the *product* is only one part of the process, for Baroness Birk, it is *the* part. For the Commission to do its job properly, these sentiments need to be absorbed without question, a point exemplified by the conditional semantic relation it is essential and the consequential, causal semantic structuring of so that mistakes are not made. It is not simply the mere words that Baroness Birk chooses that are important, but the implicit sentiment upon which they are based. This sentiment reflects the argument that “... *the world is given; we are inheritors, not producers of value here*” (Steward 1984: 164, cited in Lahn 1996: 15), such that heritage becomes a universal and uniform given that can be preserved ‘as is’ for future generations. The justification and legitimisation used for such preservation appears to be an innate and immutable value, assumed to be genuinely and self-evidently important for everyone. Notably, Littler (2005: 2) conjures up a similar notion of ‘heritage’, which she attributes to a combination of industrial modernity, imperialism, the emergence of the nation-state and capitalism. Following Littler’s discussion, heritage was seen to be “... *something important from the past stand[ing] as self-evident, as just being there, singular, ‘natural’ and*



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*not subject to question*", a notion that is extremely conspicuous in parliamentary debates surrounding the NHA.

The discourse sketched out in this section, like the section before it, is not meant to represent the authorised heritage discourse in full. Indeed, this is merely part of a process aimed at charting the development of that dominant discourse. What it does demonstrate, however, is a continued and implicit reference to the blueprint conceptualisation of heritage as it underwent a process of naturalisation. In addition to the notion of heritage as sites, monuments, buildings and areas as illustrated by the AMAA, the NHA also brought to bear ideas of heritage as a touristic experience, the increasing domination of experts and the role of 'the public' as passive receptors to be informed and educated. Further, the idea of heritage at the heart of these parliamentary debates is a surprisingly uncritical concept considered to be, borrowing from Urry (1990: 109), past, dead and safe. This conceptualisation reflects only one of many perspectives of heritage, albeit *the* consensus view in this context. It was backed by the increasing currency of a popular conservation discourse, which was unproblematically assumed to communicate based on a similar logic and vision of heritage. This logic saw neither real differences of opinion nor a sense of complexity in how heritage is constructed, gazed upon, performed, practiced or actively engaged with (Urry 1990: 111), thereby leading to little mindfulness of how meanings and values are neither fixed nor given. To paraphrase Urry (1996: 48) in light of the parliamentary debates, heritage was seen to be synonymous with the past; a past considered *out there* or *back there*. Moreover, this was not a past recreated and remade in the present, but a single slice of the past mostly remembered and meaningful to certain sections of the population.

One short – but relevant – point to note from these parliamentary debates is the title under which the Commission was to operate. While this was debated in the House of Lords, it was only later resolved once the bill moved back into the House of Commons for a second reading, where Mr Christopher Murray (MP for Twickenham) suggested "... *the simple title of English Heritage Commission*" (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1983 vol 37 c1085 ['National Heritage Bill [Lords]', Mr Christopher Murphey (Welwyn and Hatfield) – see also Mr Philip Whitehead (Derby, North) c 1101). It was a suggestion that did not incite enthusiasm, indeed, it was considered: "... *too wide. It [heritage] covers many*

*additional things*” (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1983 vol 37 c1085 [‘National Heritage Act [Lords]’, Mr Reg Prentice (Daventry)) and a “... *title that includes the confusing word “heritage” would cause confusion*” (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 24<sup>th</sup> February 1983 vol 37 c1114 [‘National Heritage Bill [Lords]’, Mr Giles Shaw, Undersecretary of the State at the Department of the Environment). As evidenced by the present-day title of the Commission, that confusion did not last long.

### *Planning the Past and Accumulating ‘Heritage’*

Drawing on the analytical points illustrated by the AMAA and the NHA, this section will detail the planning policy guidance note developed to bolster the protection offered by both Acts: *PPG15 – Planning and the Historic Environment*. This piece of policy adds to the chronological sequence I have been developing in this chapter, and likewise continues to flesh out the argumentative interplay between the government, institutional bodies and ‘the public’. PPG15, produced in September 1994 by the Department of the Environment (DoE), is currently one of fourteen planning policy guidance notes<sup>14</sup> (see **Appendix 14**). It aims to identify and protect the historic environment within the planning system, and does so with a focus upon “... *historic buildings, conservation areas and other aspects of the historic environment*” (DCMS and ODPM 2005: 12 – see also Coupe 2001: 7). The context surrounding the authorship of this document is not quite straightforward, as the date of publication falls within a busy period in terms of organising which department would take up responsibility for heritage. In the interim of the NHA and PPG15, this responsibility was shifted from the Department of the Environment to the Department for National Heritage,<sup>15</sup> newly formed by the Conservative government in 1992 (Delafons 1997: 156; Torkildsen 1999: 208; Cullingworth and Nadin 2000: 233). As a result, this policy guidance note was produced jointly by both departments, although through further organisational twists now resides under the auspices of the Office of the Deputy Prime Minister (now called Communities and Local Government).

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<sup>14</sup> Previously, the list of Policy Planning Guidance Notes (PPGs) totalled 25, but only 14 currently remain. The other 11 have since been cancelled, revised or replaced by Planning Policy Statements (PPSs) as part of a wider programme for replacement (Communities and Local Government 2006) (see Table 5.1, **Appendix 15**).

<sup>15</sup> In 1997, the department was renamed the Department for Culture, Media and Sport by the New Labour government, as noted by the *Times* on July 15, 1997: ‘*The name of Department of National Heritage was as inadequate and as partial as its unofficial alternative, the Ministry of Fun. Worse, it was inaccurate. Heritage looks to the past. We look to the future.*’ (cited in Torkildsen 1999: 208).



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Often proclaimed as the *vade mecum* for conservation (Delafons 1997: 168; Cullingworth and Nadin 2000: 232), PPG15 provides a natural addition to the chronology of heritage outlined in this chapter. Unlike the first two studies, *Early Roots* and *The Emergence of Heritage*, my analysis of PPG15 will place emphasis on the text itself, rather than debates surrounding its formulation. Again differing from preceding sections, PPG15 acts as a guideline rather than a statutory declaration, and provides a slight shifting in genre from the AMAA and the NHA, although all three are associated with genres of governance. This text is concerned primarily with forging links between conservation and planning, an issue that may appear on the surface to be somewhat mundane – but, interpreted using the tools of critical discourse analysis, it amounts to something much more telling.

The opening section of the guidance note sets a very different tone to that characterising the AMAA and the NHA (see **Appendix 15**):

*It is fundamental to the Government's policies for environmental stewardship that there should be effective protection for all aspects of the historic environment. The physical survivals of our past are to be valued and protected for their own sake, as a central part of our cultural heritage and our sense of national identity (DoE 1994: 3).*

*Their presence adds to the quality of our lives, by enhancing the familiar and cherished local scene and sustaining the sense of local distinctiveness which is so important an aspect of the character and appearance of our towns, villages and countryside. The historic environment is also of immense importance for leisure and recreation (DoE 1994: 3).*

There are two essential ways in which this particular tone attempts to communicate precisely why the guidance note is of importance. Immediately, the features of vocabulary used here signal a transition in the discourse, or evoke what appears to be a new sense of how heritage is perceived and how it relates to the world around it (Fairclough 2001b: 129). In other words, this change in discourse has re-lexicalised the heritage world in a particular way. Not only do the words chosen to describe the broader sense of work done by heritage – or the historic environment – transmit important messages about ‘discourse’ itself, but so to do the semantic and grammatical relations of the text. While the prevalence of privilege for material remains is strong, a sense of identity and local distinctiveness also emerges. Oddly, this sits unproblematically with notions of national identity. Together, the lexical and semantic relations of the text become

instrumental in generating a new vision of heritage, but what is at issue here for this thesis, is the degree to which this generation is successful – or not. This draws from an argument made by Fairclough (2001b: 130):

*When different discourses come into conflict and particular discourses are contested, what is centrally contested is the power of these preconstructed semantic systems to generate particular visions of the world which may have the performative power to sustain or remake the world in their image, so to speak.*

The relevance of this argument is that the introduction to PPG15 appears to be offering if not an entirely new way of constructing heritage, then at least a significant challenge to the AHD. As such, questions need to be asked as to whether this construction has the performative power to remodel the dominant idea of heritage, or whether it is more of a rhetorical device that masks a substantial amount of overlap between the two discourses in question.

The image under construction in the introductory paragraph to Part 1 of PPG15, (extracts of which are included in **Appendix 15**), is established along lines of inclusion and exclusion. It is also established with the use of purposive, causal language and elaboration to mark the relationships between different clauses in the sentences. From this, we arrive at an understanding of heritage that *does something*, and that something is inherently social. It is a new way of framing heritage that draws in the quality of our lives, the familiar and the cherished and a sense of local distinctiveness. Thus, what is included in these sentences is an attempt to construct a salient image of *why* heritage should be protected and valued, but it is done without recourse to what lies at the core of this heritage. It is at this point that we really start to get a sense of an instrumentalist approach to ‘heritage’. With reference to Chapter 4, it is possible that instantiations of Factor Three are also becoming apparent, alongside an emergence of a belief in the therapeutic nature of ‘heritage’. Moreover, it presents this question of *why* with a very high level of abstraction, operating at the level of social practices rather than with reference to specific, concrete events (Fairclough 2003: 138). Instead, generic reference is made to the ability of heritage to add, enhance and sustain in a vacuum devoid of human agents. Moreover, the practices of both individuals and collectives negotiating identity, engendering a sense of place and creating memories and experiences with the use of heritage are generalised and obfuscated. Borrowing from Fairclough (2003: 138), it becomes “... a ‘game’



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*without social players*”, and heritage, itself, is personified. Despite an overt appearance of a socially inclusive discourse, the participants highlighted in the sentences are the tripartition of ‘the government’, ‘our’ and ‘heritage’, and there is little acknowledgement of any other forms of agency. This is amplified by the utterance protected for *their own sake* [emphasis added], which harks back to earlier classifications of heritage as having a value which is a given rather than something that is created. As such, heritage as a product takes primacy over heritage as a process. Once again, the evidence of overlap is striking.

The text of this document thus illustrates the intermingling of discourses. In the following statement, this intermingling gains greater prominence through attempts to balance participants, activities and the objects of such activities as elements of the social practice of managing heritage.

*However, the responsibility of stewardship is shared by everyone – not only by central and local government, but also by business, voluntary bodies, churches, and by individual citizens as owners, users and visitors of historic buildings. The historic environment cannot be preserved unless there is broad public support and understanding, and it is a key element of Government policy for conservation that there should be adequate processes of consultation and education to facilitate this (DoE 1994: 4).*

Here, there is explicit reference to individual citizens as owners, users and visitors (as Participants), a representation of the present that has rarely been seen in preceding analyses, which is played off against the historic environment (as Participant and Object), here reduced to historic buildings, and the management process (as a nominalised Activity), envisioned as conservation, consultation and education. What I suggest emerges from this interaction is the rather one-sided merging of one discourse with another. This is especially relevant for the second clause of the second sentence in the above statement, which is an elaboration that gives greater meaning to the first clause of that sentence. The two are thus not equally weighted propositions, leading to a questioning of precisely what relationship is being put forward in this construction. It is immediately clear that the relationship in question is complex, made more so by the metaphorical representation of conservation, consultation and education as entities through semantic manipulation (Fairclough 2003: 143). All three disguise – semantically – tense, modality and, importantly, participation and agency through this nominalisation. While the public are explicitly marked out as necessary for supporting and understanding the need to preserve the historic environment,

when this is analysed following Fairclough's (2003: 144) observations of nominalisation, it becomes clear that no reference is being made to who acts in terms of conserving, consulting and educating can be discerned, as the verb has been converted into a noun-like word:

*In the policy genre, process metaphor is a deceptively powerful tool for construing future human activity (time) as a pseudo-spatial, fact like object (space) (Graham 2001, cited in Fairclough 2003: 145).*

A closer look at the main social actors represented within the text reveals further work done by powerful linguistic tools, often marked by exclusions. Much of the text radiates from the perspective of a specific Possessive, the government, or the activated, but generic, group 'local authorities', who are seen to make things happen.

As a policy guidance note, this document presupposes that a large part of what it is referring to will be revealed and explicitly explored in a range of alternative texts, and therefore large swathes of its defining discourse remains undefined and assumed. The introductory paragraphs of PPG15 make mention of a number of related texts, including PPG16, Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act 1990, Circular 8/87, *Sustainable Development: The UK Strategy*, PPG12, PPG21 and *Tourism and the Environment: Maintaining the Balance* (English Tourist Board: 1991). A key example of this intertextuality is:

*The Government has committed itself to the concept of sustainable development – of not sacrificing what future generations will value for the sake of short-term and often illusory gains (DoE 1994: 3).*

Immediately, it is clear that a hybridisation has taken place, in which intertextual reference to a broader discourse concerned with sustainable development is used to reinforce the already self-sufficient ethos of protecting 'heritage' for the sake of future generations. This is reflective of the general ideological climate of the 1990s, and issues of environmental concern that were in vogue at the time, culminating, for example, in *Earth Summit: The United Nations on Environment and Development* (1992) and the resultant *Agenda 21* (1992) (Hajer 1995; Hajer and Fischer 1999). Sustainable development, itself, has become something of a rhetorical ploy (Hajer 1995: 12; Hajer 1996), marking a central and hegemonic storyline that can be uttered to signify allegiance to an internationally recognised social 'crusade' for the environment (for a short discussion of the Earth Summit,



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sustainable development and heritage, see G. Fairclough 1997: 16 – see also DCMS 2003d; DCMS 2007). Moreover, this is a global discourse coalition knitted together by only the vaguest of storylines:

*These coalitions are unconventional in the sense that the actors have not necessarily met, let alone that they follow a carefully laid out and agreed upon strategy (Hajer 1995: 13).*

This vagueness is reflected in the Department for the Environment statement set out above, which is itself virtually meaningless. What it does illustrate, however, is the use of intertextuality as a strategy of legitimisation, in this case, authorisation and moralisation. This is acutely reinforced by the usage of the term sacrifice, itself a form of legitimisation through moral evaluation. Failure to implement policy tied to the sentiment of sustainable development signifies a failure to protect what future generations will value, thereby drawing with it the evaluative assumption that sustainable development, here taking the form of heritage management, is a good and important thing to do. The following statement further reinforces this idea of intertextuality with environmental storylines:

*The protection of the historic environment, whether individual listed buildings, conservation areas, parks and gardens, battlefields or the wider historic landscape, is a key aspect of these wider environmental responsibilities, and will need to be taken fully into account both in the formulation of authorities' planning policies and in development control (DoE 1994: 5).*

Again, the desirability of implementing frameworks for heritage protection is reinforced and legitimised by making it a part of wider environmental debates that have already achieved political recognition and status.

The last quote also presents an opportunity to assess the broadening of definitions concerned with the historic environment. Important to note, here, is that the term 'heritage' has been replaced by that of 'the historic environment', although the former has never been completely phased out of circulation, a point discussed in further detail in Chapter 2. Unlike the AMAA and the NHA, the historic environment in this document has undergone quite a specific broadening of scope, so as to include parks and gardens, battlefields and the wider historic landscape. The inclusion of these concepts within the overarching term emerges

from a widening of statutory protection developing from the NHA,<sup>16</sup> in which the powers of the Commission are outlined to include the compilation of a Register of Gardens, later referred to as the *Register of Parks and Gardens of special historic interest in England*. Likewise, the inclusion of battlefields most likely reflects the *Proposed Battlefields Register* consultation process, which was formalised by English Heritage in 1995 (Foard 2001: 87). Finally, reference to the historic landscape carries the hallmark of the influential *Historic Landscape Project of 1992–1994*, carried out by English Heritage, itself part of a project aimed at “... *widening its responsibilities for the conservation, preservation and improved public enjoyment of the historic environment*”, and prompted by the government’s White Paper *This Common Inheritance* (1990) (G. Fairclough *et al.* 1999: vii–1). These additional concepts fall within the second clause of the above quotation, and work to delimit, or define, the scope of the initial use of the noun phrase ‘the historic environment’. Thus, while this sentence contains an elaborative clause, it is a limited elaboration, itself restricted by the dominant notion of heritage, or the historic environment, as made up of things that contain value: whether individual listed buildings, conservation areas, parks and gardens, battlefields or the wider historic environment is thus not a crafted argument; rather, it acts as a description outlining what falls within the remit of the historic environment. There is no sense of the process through which value is ascribed, reinforced, sustained or diminished as a result of complex social relations, and thus no allowance for how these changes may produce different possibilities in terms of heritage.

This inclusion of a broader ‘set’ of heritage categories is reproduced, for example, in *Protecting our Heritage* (1996), jointly prepared by the Department of National Heritage and the Welsh Office. It represents a further change in the perception heritage, as well as an opportunity to ascertain if this new projection of heritage is synonymous with the ‘actual’ world of heritage realised through the language of policy guidance.

*Moreover, it is now generally recognised that the heritage is not simply a matter of individual buildings and monuments. Many other specific elements are of great importance too – for example, historic parks, gardens and battlefields (DNH and TWO 1996: 2).*

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<sup>16</sup> Specifically, Schedule 4, paragraph 10, which refers to Section 8C of the *Historic Buildings and Ancient Monuments Act 1953*.



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*We have made significant progress in identifying and protecting our most important buildings and sites. But making the most of our heritage means more than simply preserving the best of our past (Bottemley and Hague 1996: x).*

What is interesting is the explicit attempt to distinguish a new way of understanding heritage from an old way. However, it is not clear whether this signals the uptake of a new discourse, or if this is better understood as an increase in the scale of the dominant discourse already recognised in the AMAA and the NHA. Certainly, the categories of historic parks, gardens and battlefields do not differ significantly from those of buildings, monuments, sites and conservation areas. Indeed, they are arguably based upon the same set of assumptions regarding intrinsic value, heritage as product rather than process, tangibility and a 'dead' past.

*Some of the most obvious features of this environment are historic buildings. England is exceptionally rich in these – great churches, houses, and civic buildings – but our understanding of the historic environment now encompasses a much wider range of features, and in particular stresses the relationship between individual buildings, and also the value of historic townscape and landscape as a whole (DoE 1994: 34, my emphasis).*

While there has been an injection of a broader heritage base, the tendency remains to make these additions feel exactly that – like additions that only make sense in relation to buildings and monuments. This texturing of 'old' and 'new' offers an indication of difference that in reality may simply be equivalence in disguise. Heritage is explained as taking the obvious form of historic buildings, but also as encompassing a much wider range of features, which is suggestive of contrast or difference. However, this range of features is elaborated with explicit reference to historic buildings, a point exemplified when considering the overarching feel of the text. The introductory paragraphs of the document construct an antithetical relationship between this 'old' and 'new', yet the remainder of the document is devoid of this contrastive stance, preferring to apply a continued focus on the supposed pre-eminence of historic buildings.

The pre-eminence of historic buildings is a point of reference that is recurrent throughout the text, acting as a 'marker' of heritage against which other categories may be measured:

*England is particularly rich in the designed landscapes of parks and gardens, and the built and natural features they contain: **the greatest of these are as important to national, and indeed international, culture as are our greatest buildings** (DoE 1994: 34, my emphasis).*

Thus, while there is certainly an attempt to articulate a broader sense of heritage, there is also work being done to sustain the dominance of historic buildings. Indeed, our greatest buildings act as a crucial yardstick against which other categories may measure up. The cumulative affect of this statement, however, rests with the hierarchical emphasis placed upon national and international levels of importance. This is an element of the dominant discourse that has not yet been explicitly examined. It is not a covert relationship, but one that is taken to be commonsense and straightforward: greatest will naturally equate to national, if not international. It is a ‘*realis*’ statement of fact (Fairclough 2004: 6; Fairclough n.d.). This hierarchical ranking is also implied in the following statement:

*Authorities should ensure that the Royal Fine Art Commission is consulted on all planning applications raising conservation issues of **more than local importance** ... (DoE 1994: 7, my emphasis).*

Here, the most analytically interesting point revolves around the utterance of more than local importance. The evaluative thrust of these statements works around the implicit assumption that regional, national and international importance is *more than* that offered at the local level. By asserting this hierarchical categorisation, it is also assumed that this ‘arrow of importance’ is unproblematic, and will not be the subject of conflict and contestation. Further, it assumes that the complex relationships between people and heritage – how it is used and what meanings it engenders – are more fundamental at national and international levels than at local levels. Or rather, it assumes nothing about these relationships at all. Yet surely there is heritage that does not fit within the special, national ‘heritage label’ – that will hold as much, if not more, importance for some people than those aspects of heritage assumed to be imbued with national, or international, importance (Hodges and Watson 2000)? As Bagnall (2003) suggests, heritage moves beyond physicality, becoming something that is realised through emotion and experience. It is something that is not innately valuable according to a strict and narrow hierarchy, but because of what it engenders and because of the invitation it initiates for people to ‘feel something’ (Bagnall 2003: 89). Or, as McIntosh and Prentice (1999: 598) point out, will emerge



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from “... *insights into something new, having enjoyed reliving memories...or having had fun*”, or as Smith (2006: 304, 301) points out, marking out “... *those commonplace areas of life worthy of celebration ...*” and “... *finding and expressing a sense of who they are*”.

While the physicality of heritage has been broadened in PPG15 to include new elements such as gardens, parks and battlefields, the criteria against which importance or significance are assessed remains largely unquestioned. Above, we have seen that ‘levels’ of importance are still determined along the lines of locality, region, national and international, and it is also important to consider what other criteria offers the compulsory exclusion of that which it does not name as heritage.

*Age and rarity are relevant considerations, particularly where buildings are proposed for listing on the strength of their historic interest. The older a building is, and the fewer the surviving examples of its kind, the more likely it is to have historic importance (DoE 1994: 36).*

Age and rarity are highlighted as key considerations in the assessment of importance, which themselves are directed by the *Planning (Listed Buildings and Conservation Areas) Act of 1990*, and the driving criteria of special architectural and historic interest (Pendlebury 2001: 291). This is in direct contravention to the assumptions and beliefs underpinning Factors Two ‘B’ and Four, and appears, once again, to find synergy with Factor Two ‘A’. Like the NHA, heritage is restricted to a handful of defining values, here limited to historic and architectural, considered capable of earmarking those things deemed worthy of protection. It is interesting to note that this value, or importance, does not assume ascription in the above statement, nor does it assume agency. Rather, the physical objects, themselves, are the participants, with agency inferred. Again, the world is given, such that a natural progression from age and rarity, through historic interest, through historic importance, through to protection being assumed. Responsibility for selecting heritage worthy of consideration in the planning process thus becomes an objective fact, masking, as Walsh (1992: 79) argues, its nature as “... *a political act*”. This notion of objectivity becomes a persuasive device deployed to make *assumptions* of historical and architectural importance appear natural, and “... *beyond the realm of human agency*” (Potter 1996: 150). The criteria, by implication, are “... *constructed as not being constructed*” (Potter 1996: 151).

*The approach adopted for twentieth century listing is to identify key exemplars for each of a range of building types – industrial, educational, residential, etc – and to treat these exemplars as broadly defining a standard against which to judge proposals for further additions to the list (DoE 1994: 36).*

The pervasive use of this kind of grammatical impersonality works to minimise the issue of subjectivity in the actual process of determining importance, allowing objects – in this case, building types – to become *rhetorically live*, capable of defining, suggesting or showing importance (Potter 1996: 153). In identifying key standards, the assurance follows that heritage will continue to be constituted by a particular discourse, and at this stage that appears to be a hybridisation of the AHD resulting in Factor One, and the very specific notion of historic importance as captured by those exemplars. As argued by Walsh (1992: 80), the implications of this selectivity are far-reaching:

*The aim of heritage would appear to be to select only that which pleases the sensibilities of a narrow group of people. Those who decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved, are basically deciding what is worth remembering.*

This idea of diminished agency and grammatical impersonality is not as explicitly reflected in *Protecting our Heritage*, a comparable text dealing with heritage policy. The introductory paragraphs of this text, for example, begin to draw in different values and meanings:

*But historic buildings and monuments, towns and landscapes have a still deeper significance for us. They speak not only of what has gone before. They also tell us about ourselves. They help define our identity as products of, and heirs to, cultures which are long-established, highly developed and continually evolving (DNH and TWO 1996: 4).*

Yet the sense of connection that can be inferred from the above quote is still seen to exist *in* something, and not so much within *ourselves*. The quotation is not suggestive of a more critical engagement with discussions of value, nor does it prompt questions about the ideological uniformity of the value assumptions discussed above. Indeed, the list of buildings, monuments, towns and landscapes still holds, and the elements within the list are seen to *do* something: they tell us about ourselves and they help define our identity. The active participant in this quote is heritage itself, rather than us and ourselves, thereby still negating the



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active work of people in the process of ascribing meaning. However, as Hall (1997: 3) argues:

*It is in our use of things, and what we say, think and feel about them  
– how we represent them – that we give them a meaning.*

The process implicit in the two quotations – one from *Protecting our Past* and one from Stuart Hall – is in some way comparable, but essentially, it is reversed. In the first instance heritage gives us meaning, and in the latter, we give things meaning. While there is an ‘us’ and a ‘we’ in both processes, the dynamics feel entirely different. In the latter, it becomes much more than heritage giving us historic information or architectural aesthetics from which we can learn and be educated. Rather, the point of heritage becomes intimately aligned with what Lowenthal (1998b: 11) is arguing for when quoting a Scottish custodian: it is “... *not that the public should learn something but they should **become** something*” [emphasis added].

Quite the contrary to this idea of a heritage process, PPG15 continues to lay down an understanding of value that is concerned with physicality and the idea of an innate value that simply is. This allows for a rather less than surprising emphasis to fall on the physical fabric of proposed heritage:

*But in the Secretary of State’s view there should normally be some quality or interest in the physical fabric of the building itself to justify the statutory protection afforded by listing (DoE 1994: 36).*

An evaluative, and existential, assumption comes into play that takes the worth of physical fabric as paramount. Echoing earlier arguments made, this assumption is based on the idea of inherent, intrinsic or immutable value, as reinforced by the following statement:

*Some historic buildings are scheduled ancient monuments, and many of which are not scheduled are either of intrinsic archaeological interest or stand on ground which contains archaeological remains (DoE 1994: 8).*

The language of the text is used in a certain way to make things ‘significant’ or ‘valuable’ (Gee 1999: 11). Two things occur through this: first, we see the reiteration of the understanding that value is intrinsic; and, second, that value becomes explicitly tied up in archaeological, and thus expert, interests. The entirety of the counter-argument I have been constructing in this chapter, which

refers to the process of *ascribing* meaning and *using* that meaning rather than material artefacts themselves, is absented. Rather, throughout the course of the document, heritage and the planning process begins to shape up into something more to do with protecting 'data', or information, for expert analysis, than something to do with social value.

Despite allusions to the incorporation of a new, broader discourse, the underpinning assumptions that bind this document together are largely reminiscent of those found in the AMAA and the NHA. The utterance of key storyline triggers allows for this conclusion. As with the immanentist view referred to in the previous section, the re-utterance of these storyline 'bytes' becomes a discursive strategy that works to reinforce itself. While the scale of heritage increased within this document so as to include battlefields, gardens and parks, this broadening scale remained firmly in tune with an already embedded assumption about the nature of heritage. As a consequence, the discursive development of heritage in policy during this timeframe continued to replicate the cognitive commitments of an already established and authorised heritage discourse. While it is important to point out that this document represents a re-lexicalisation of heritage, this acts – to this point, anyway – more as a rhetorical ploy that does nothing of significance to transform the dominant discourse. Abstracting agency, conflating processes as entities and excluding elements of social events, have worked to reveal the implicit blueprint against which the authors of this text envisioned the heritage management process. Importantly, the 'new' perspectives picked out of the introductory paragraphs were not given an equal weighting against the perspectives of the 'old'. Rather, the pre-eminence of historic buildings became apparent, as did the hierarchical ordering of importance from local, via national to international. Finally, and perhaps most importantly, the idea of heritage as given rather than produced recurred with frequency within the text. Following from this, precedence was given to ideas of inherent or intrinsic value, rather than the importance of ascribed, social values. The problem, here, becomes one of discourse. This is not so much a questioning of 'facts', but a questioning of deeply held assumptions held up as 'facts' and naturalised in the policy-making process.

#### **CONCLUSION: THE BLUEPRINT METAPOR OF HERITAGE DISCOURSE**



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The aim of this chapter has not been to chart the overarching history of heritage policy. Rather, it has aimed to provide an understanding of the naturalisation of a particular discursive construction of heritage by charting its development within the early roots and dissemination of heritage policy. More specifically, it has focused on the formulation of heritage policy at a time when ‘heritage’ quite suddenly exploded in a political sense. To do this, I have highlighted and analysed what I consider to be three key policy initiatives: the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act of 1979*, the *National Heritage Act of 1983* and *PPG15: Planning and the Historic Environment*, formulated and implemented in 1994. In doing so, this chapter has sought to identify the recurrence of particular discursive characteristics by scrutinising the internal workings of specific texts, placing emphasis on the syntactical, grammatical and lexical constructions of heritage. The result has been the strengthening of the proposition that there is an effective indelibility by which core discursive features have continued to determine the object and outcome of policy formulations. Moreover, it has revealed a common – or dominant – way of framing heritage and its management, which is strikingly similar to the interpretations offered for Factor One identified in Chapter 4. The reach of this proposition will be explored in the following chapters, again utilising the methodologies of Critical Discourse Analysis, with the aim of making robust statements about the rhetoric and reality of heritage policy. This bears credence for the proposition that an important consequence of the development and uptake of authorised discourses is that “... *it [is] virtually impossible to think outside of them*” (Young 1981: 48, cited in McGuigan 2004: 35). In challenging authorised views of heritage and related management strategies, I am concerned with this line of reasoning, particularly in terms of how it informs political conflict. Questioning what definitions *become* ‘heritage’, and what understandings this exudes, provides a useful opportunity to begin analysing *what the problem really is* in terms of this conflict.

Already, a significant part of this analysis has reinforced a need to theorise dominant perceptions of ‘heritage’ as performative definitions, such that we begin to see how legislative devices are organised by – and in turn organise – particular, and inevitably obdurate, perceptions of heritage. In this sense, the ‘inevitability’ (see Fairclough *et al.* 2004: 1) of particular discourses to take up authoritative roles becomes less a matter of course and more a problem of discourse. Within this chapter, we have seen this in the way in which one

construction of heritage was sustained and legitimised in policy, and has then gone on to *insist to all people that this is their heritage* (Braden 1978: 153–154). This borrows from what Raymond Williams termed ‘selective tradition’, whereby a tradition is passed off as *the* tradition, or *the* significant past (cited in Apple 1990: 6 – see also Hall 1999). Indeed, this was explicitly illustrated by the usage of the phrase ‘the heritage’ throughout the documents. In order to trace the adherence to a selective tradition, the number of instances that substantiated a claim to that tradition was explored. The AMAA, NHA and PPG15 provided texts within which to examine and identify the emergence of a dominant, authorised discourse of heritage. It also allowed for a clearer picture of the dynamic, argumentative struggle between different conceptions of heritage, in which “... *actors not only try to make others see the problems according to their views but also seek to position other actors in a specific way*” (Hajer 1996: 53).

The three policy examples used in this chapter form part of the genre chain that weaves its way through the heritage problematic I have established in this thesis. Together, they provide a focus suitable for gathering together a coherent understanding of the authorised language that structures the social practice of managing heritage, and the extent to which it has been internalised. All three relate in some way to the genre of governance, and involve the re-contextualisation of the dominant heritage discourse from one policy document to another. They also, in various ways, highlight an offensive rhetoric that is utilised to undermine or pre-empt alternative discourses. Ultimately, all three examples demonstrate the pervasive effects of discourse in constructing a particular vision of something, in this case heritage. It is therefore through the above mechanisms that these texts do their most important work for this thesis: they allow the dominant discourse to be seen as *a* discourse, and not the *only* discourse – in short, it allows an analytical glimpse at the proposition that the authorised heritage discourse is simply the discourse that has found dominance in terms of policy-making.

While the three documents deal with separate issues, they bind themselves together by utilising a particular storyline that allows their agendas and objectives to *sound right*. By implication, it has been possible to analyse a number of utterances within the context of all three documents that draw upon this storyline, either implicitly or explicitly. As more governmental departments and



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heritage organisations united around this storyline, it began to take up an institutionalised edge that shifted abstract notions into concrete operations. We have seen this shift through the examination of a succession of policy movements, with each successive policy building upon the embedded assumptions, or blueprint metaphors, of those it is linked to intertextually. Centrally, I have been concerned with assumptions about the nature of heritage, and this has necessarily dovetailed with broader processes of social life. Bigger questions regarding what is involved, who are the participants, what processes are included in the management process, who does it affect, who is in a position of control, what is included/excluded, what wider issues have influence or are influenced all become relevant.

Crucially, it has been possible to track the reinforcement of a national discourse-coalition that has built up around a specific notion of heritage. There are two issues to this statement, and both are important, not only because a distinct vision of heritage is privileged, but also because this specific impression is considered most meaningful at the level of the nation. Not only, then, are alternative conceptualisations of heritage disarmed, but so too are those visions that do not appeal to, represent or make sense for the nation. The naturalisation of an authorised 'heritage' through institutional development and cultural unification (Eley and Suny 1996: 8) is thus also a consequence of the nationalisation of this particular construction of 'heritage'.

Dealing first with the naturalised discourse, this takes as its primacy the physicality of the past, which is authorised and narrated through the range of policy documents analysed here as the selected tradition. This physicality brings with it an assumed immutability, such that value – be it historic, architectural, documentary or aesthetic – is taken to reside *within* the fabric, rather than something ascribed and created through social and cultural work. A monument, following this former notion, will be valuable regardless of whether it is meaningful for anyone or not. Indeed, it takes up an intransitive quality such that it would not cease to exist *regardless* of whether we were to speak for it or not: it is independent of our interactions, and something that will be revealed through application of the appropriate knowledge and methodologies. The second important feature of this discourse is its preponderance in favour of future generations, with people in the present bypassed unless in the narrow sense of

educating, informing or instructing that current population. With the two operating in combination, the management process unsurprisingly becomes very technocratic and top down, headed by a Commission considered capable of addressing both issues. With the abstraction and generalisation of present-day meanings and uses, heritage becomes infinitely more manageable and consensual. Differences are suppressed and masked, and this image of unity becomes a useful marker of 'our' heritage. The dialectic nature of a homogenous heritage and a homogenous 'our' means that not only is a particular vision of heritage defined, but it is marketed in a way that insists it is, or should be, meaningful to all.

In invoking an idea of the 'nation's heritage' that depends upon particular and consensual attributes, the sense of connection this appeals to through assumed continuity and links made "*... between the dead and the yet unborn*" becomes an important discursive point (Eley and Suny 1996: 24). Essentially, a very narrow idea of 'the nation's heritage' emerges from this storyline, which is both disempowering and subordinating to alternative interest groups under-represented by it. Membership, at this point of discursive development, is highly class-specific, religiously determined and ethnically limited, thus paradoxically tied to a notion of heritage that sees itself firmly fixed to the past and the future, yet understood in the context of the present. It is a storyline strongly reminiscent of that envisaged by Hall (2005) and described by Littler (2005: 1) as a "*... bounded entity unquestioningly representing the interests of the white, English upper- and middle-class great and the good*".

However, it is actually unsurprising to note that all three policy documents recontextualise heritage at a national level in a way that suppresses difference, as this is an anticipated tactic used to "*... make claims which hold and have policy implications nationally and internationally*" (Fairclough 2003: 141). What makes this utilisation relevant is the set of implications it brings with it once it spills away from the internal workings of the texts into external operations. One such implication is that an accumulation of power, bounded by the parameters of debate and bestowed upon both that specific slice of heritage and those who use, define and *have* that heritage (Littler 2005: 2). Yet this logic has gone without acknowledgement in these documents, and heritage has been assumed to have value *simply because*, rather than as a consequence of our desires. Moreover, this logic ensues by its popularisation. With the advent of tourism and attempts to educate and inform, the mark of selectivity and elitism set up by the early roots



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of heritage policy – and attempts to parade *a* particular heritage as *the* heritage – has since been made available and consumable by all. This is an odd opposition to set up and then swiftly attempt to dismantle, and may go some way to explaining why there continues to be sustained critiques of heritage and its management from alternative quarters (most notably those who do not measure up against the markers of prestige and elitism). Again, borrowing from Littler (2005: 13), this smacks somewhat of a welcome mat in front of a locked door.

The next chapter, which continues to chart the emergence and dissemination of discourses within heritage policy, takes up an interest in social inclusion and the changes this emphasis wrought. The identification of a distinct weaving of ‘heritage’ emergent from this chapter, drawn up around notions of nationalism, physicality and patrimony, will be built upon in the altered context of social inclusion. The mapping of the discourses undertaken here gives strength to the notion that the AHD is undergoing a process of hybridisation, a point that will be examined in the following chapters.

## NEW LABOUR, NEW HERITAGE?

### INTRODUCTION: MODERNISING 'HERITAGE' AND THE NEW LABOUR MANIFESTO

In Chapter 5, I began an analysis of the nationalisation and naturalisation of a particular heritage discourse as it developed throughout the 1970s, 1980s and 1990s. This analysis documented how a particular discourse about 'heritage' was promoted and came to be seen as universal, natural and credible. Key to this vision of heritage was the extraction of 'people' and the 'social', and the substitution of 'national' as a catch-all for both. However, while this analysis revealed the recurrence of a tight set of assumptions, invoked by the continued repetition of a common storyline, the broader language of the discourse was also seen to have changed markedly from the *Ancient Monuments and Archaeological Areas Act* of 1979 to *Planning Policy Guidance Note 15: Planning and the Historic Environment* of 1995. In 1997, and with the promise of "... a nation united, with common purpose, shared values, with no-one shut out or excluded", Tony Blair (cited in Levitas 2005: 1) signalled that it was about to change again, picking up a theme that would become increasingly familiar: social inclusion.

A significant task for this chapter is to build upon the argumentative texture already opened up in previous chapters. A continued firming up of the identity of the authorised heritage discourse is required, with reference to the specific, defining claims of that discourse that enable it to rhetorically justify one trajectory of management over others. In other words, which elements of the discourse continue to appear fixed and firmly entrenched, and which elements are open to change? The very fine-grained analysis carried out in the previous chapter, with its heavy linguistic emphasis, identified insights into issues of power and ideology. While this chapter continues to chart the development of a dominant heritage discourse, the focus shifts to encompass not only the embedded idea of heritage, but faces, explicitly, the consequences of *prioritising a particular social group*. It does this by



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targeting the discourse of social inclusion, and using the influences of this to point out that the authorised heritage discourse is not permanent and unchanging. Indeed, it has passed through many different circumstances, imaginings, realisations and reformulations. In other words, as the social contexts surrounding heritage management change, so too will the linguistic and discursive nature of 'heritage' change. Just how substantial that change is, however, is an important question to ask.

In taking up this particular focus, the aim of this chapter is to advance the argument that the *Authorised Heritage Discourse* identified in the previous chapter has a greater tenacity than first appearances might suggest. My intention is to demonstrate that the AHD has been emptied out of all ideological content and now appears to present a natural conceptualisation of 'heritage'. The introduction of social inclusion, which in theory should challenge this conceptualisation, remains contradictory and limited to the idea of 'heritage' defined by the AHD. This is because notions of expertise, power and ideology are put under considerably more risk than is explicitly acknowledged, should those social inclusion initiatives transform into more genuine inclusion agendas. As a consequence, this chapter will carefully examine how ideas of plurality, inclusion and diversity are actually handled, both discursively and socially, in an attempt to unpack how such concepts interact with the AHD. Overall, I argue that these concepts are muted and have been mutated into a more subtle manifestation of the AHD, which closely resembles those characteristics of Factor One, the romanticised AHD. This manifestation, which on the surface makes moves towards acknowledging a more inclusive heritage agenda, is implicated with a viewpoint that is assimilatory, due to its continued association with the core assumptions of the stereotypical AHD.

As such, this chapter takes up an interest in the new ways in which the 'the public' has been framed in the authorised heritage discourse, and the discursive roles and subject-positions it have been provided for by that discourse. It proposes that the utterance 'the public' acts as a rhetorical construct that mediates these current themes of social inclusion and exclusion, while also adding a level of persuasive power. Used properly, the trope of 'the public' brings with it the potential to open up the domain of heritage (in a policy sense), and forge understandings and frameworks of management that are meaningful in the present. To do this, I argue that the oft-lamented, amorphous 'public' needs to take shape and find recognition

as a heterogeneous group, central to the setting of parameters regarding possibility and potential in terms of the nature of heritage. Does the new discourse of social inclusion welcome this active, rather than passive, public into the management process? Is it a discourse of significant vigour, capable of undermining the idea of 'heritage' prescribed by the dominant discourse? These questions also reach into the heart of another issue: what kind of message does the developing *language* of 'heritage' give us about the *politics* of heritage?

Drawing on an external or macro-analysis of New Labour traditions, this chapter will unpack a series of policy documents in order to reveal the argumentative terrain upon which heritage debates now take place. The task of this chapter is thus twofold: firstly, to assess *how* a particular discourse, coherent and accepted in a distinct timeframe, gains influence and projects itself beyond the timeframe of its development; and secondly, to understand how this discourse interacts with alternative discourses in order to interpret the processes of policy change. These two tasks are based upon the assumption that language, as an irreducible part of social life, has a considerable role to play in any analysis of social practice (Fairclough 1995a: 3). The texts that form the basis of this chapter – *Power of Place* (2000r), *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future* (2001a) and *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment* (2002c) – will be explored as sources that may reveal traces of the authorised heritage discourse, as well as alternative realities, particularly those sponsored by New Labour initiatives of social inclusion. They thus become texts of challenge or conflict. Further, these texts will be supplemented by material derived from interviews with people active within the policy process. In addition, borrowing from Kress (1995: 120), these texts will be examined as "... *an encoding of a past history and of the realignment of the elements of that history in response to the present social complex*", becoming probable points of intersection between competing views of reality.

### **FORKED TONGUES AND DOUBLE SHUFFLES: NEW LABOUR AND SOCIAL INCLUSION**

This section addresses the political project of social exclusion as espoused by New Labour:

*Social exclusion is about income but it is about more. It is about prospects and networks and life-chances. It's a very modern problem, and one that is more harmful to the individual, more damaging to self-esteem, more corrosive*



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*for society as a whole, more likely to be passed down from generation to generation, than material poverty (Blair 1997: 3).*

It does this, however, by placing emphasis on the consequences this carries for the practice of heritage management. This is because social inclusion policies signal a potential and potent threat for the AHD, which is essentially an *exclusionary* discourse by its very nature. While it is important to acknowledge the relationships between New Labour and social exclusion in examining heritage policy, I do not want to over-indulge in this detour and risk overcomplicating the issues at hand by going too far into the detail of New Labour's policy agenda (for further details see Kavanagh 2001; Levitas 2004; Bevir 2005; Coates 2005). Instead, I will summarise the arguments developed by Ruth Levitas (2004, 2005), paying particular attention to her development of the 'career' of social exclusion/inclusion in England. This distillation of the motivations and assumptions underpinning New Labour's agenda for social exclusion will be used to clarify why links between 'heritage' and social inclusion have become such a priority. This is because, as Anderson (1975: 59, cited in Dorey 2005a: 8 – see also Dorey 2005b) points out, "*Of the thousands and thousands of demands made upon government, only a small portion receive serious attention from public policy-makers*". It is therefore important to understand what it was (and is) about the problem of 'social exclusion/inclusion' that made it appear amenable if harnessed to culture and heritage.

### *The 'Career' of Social Inclusion*

The concept of 'social inclusion' emerged out of French social policy in the early 1970s, where it was combined with Bourdieu's conceptual account of cultural capital (Sandell 2003: 45; Allin and Selwood 2004; Bennett and Savage 2004; Levitas 2005). From here, the coupling of these two concepts has spread through the European Union, recreating the partnership in a range of additional national discourses (Fairclough 2000: 51; Percy-Smith 2000a: 1; Belfiore 2002: 92, 2006; Levitas 2005: 2). As Bennett and Savage (2004: 9) point out, this conceptualisation has a relatively long history, particularly in "*... the context of arts, cultural, media and educational policies*". Moreover, it has prompted the rise of a number of nationalist discourses, each pulling together subtly different weaves on the issues. Regardless of the distinct texturing of each of these discourses, they have contributed to a common end: the prominence of social inclusion on the political agenda, both nationally and supranationally in Europe. At the supranational level, social inclusion has become a pivotal aspiration. This is revealed by summits such as the European Council in



Lisbon, in March 2000 (or the Lisbon Strategy, which examines economic, social and environmental renewal), and the European Council in Nice, in December 2000 (the outcomes of which explicitly examine the risks of exclusion) (Micklewright and Stewart 2001; Levitas 2004: 191). In addition, speeches such as *The EU Strategy for Social Inclusion and the Role of Local and Regional Government*, delivered by Dave Simmonds, director of the Centre for Economic and Social Inclusion, London, and policy documents such as *The Role of Culture in Preventing and Reducing Poverty and Social Exclusion*, authored by the European Communities in 2005, reveal the extent of the EU's intentions. The response to this nationally has echoed a similar level of fervour, with Member States producing biennial National Action Plans for Social Inclusion (NAPs) (Levitas 2005: 190–191). With reference to New Labour's social policy development, this influence is perhaps best seen through the establishment of the Social Exclusion Unit (SEU) in December 1997, which, at the time, was attached to the Cabinet Office (Nathan and Morgan 1999; Belfiore 2002: 92; Burchardt *et al* 2002: 1; Newman and McLean 2004a: 171). The aim underpinning the genesis of this Unit was that of producing "... *joined up solutions to joined up problems*" (Belfiore 2002: 93 – see also Atkinson and Savage 2001; Butcher 2006: 32), an unsurprising utterance considering that this is a government whose Big Idea is 'joined-up thinking'. Policy formulation in this area falls under the responsibility of The Department for Work and Pensions (DWP), which has produced, for example, the *United Kingdom National Action Plan on Social Inclusion 2003–2005: Implementation Report* in July 2003. Academic work has both fed into, and arisen out of, this interest, resulting in research projects such as *Cultural Capital and the Cultural Field in Contemporary Britain*, produced in 2005 by the Centre for Research on Socio-Cultural Change and sponsored by the Economic and Social Research Council (ESRC), and research commissioned by the BALTIC Centre for Contemporary Art, Gateshead, 2006, examining the engagement of over-fifties with contemporary art exhibitions through the framework of cultural capital. The consequence of these initiatives and research programmes has been an inevitably complex web of discourses vying for dominance within a number of government and intergovernmental agencies, all required to deliver ways of alleviating social exclusion in terms of its material, cultural, social and psychological manifestations.

Although the first explicit attempt to address issues of social exclusion arrived with Peter Townsend's study *Poverty in the United Kingdom* in 1979, it was not until the election of New Labour in 1997 that any real vigour became evident on these issues



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(Lister 1998; Bennett and Savage 2004: 9; Levitas 2005: 9). To some degree, then, this analysis needs to acknowledge the 'double regime' of New Labour as a whole, and its continued combination of an international neo-liberal politics with strands of a more ethically social-democratic tradition (see Hay 1999; Fairclough 2001c; Hall 2003; Clarke 2004; Levitas 2004, 2005). The hybrid regime resulting from this combination sets up a '*two-step shuffle*', to borrow from Hall (2003: 19), which sees the monitoring, or 'measurement', of social inclusion in heritage usage arrived at through attempts to improve the delivery of public services, themselves managed by means of the top-down 'managerialist' (Hall 2003: 21). As Hall (2003) points out, the neo-liberal politics in this two-step shuffle always remains dominant, with social-democratic traditions systematically subordinated and dependent. While both regimes have relevance for this thesis, and are important for revealing much of the rhetoric caught up in the language of social inclusion, I want to focus on the latter – social democratic traditions – for the moment. This first 'step' of the double shuffle will be reunited with 'step two' in Chapter 7, in which I will examine in more detail the transformation of a social-democratic inspired project of social inclusion into a neo-liberal *fait accompli*.

Taken at face value, the project of social inclusion finds synergy with social democratic quests for equality and social solidarity, achieved through redistribution. It also connects with a wider series of interlinked attempts to deal with issues such as globalisation, the politics of identity and multiculturalism, for example. By contrast, this project is in many ways at odds with New Labour's second regime of neo-liberalism, which speaks past ideas of cohesion, aspirations and feelings (Fairclough 2003: 128). In this scenario, social democratic impulses of inclusion and cohesion are articulated and understood in a vocabulary that attempts to bring these two regimes together. For example, the phrases 'human capital', 'human quality' and 'cultural capital' can be seen as attempts to construct workable semantic relationships between the two discourses (Fairclough 2003: 128). In a policy sense, social inclusion has had a significant materialisation in discussions of poverty, where the focus – both in terms of the construction of the problem and resultant solutions – is distinctly framed by reference to 'the marginalised'. Of course, with such a focus on 'them', and little attention on 'everyone else', the assumption carries that there is nothing inherently wrong with 'everybody else' (Fairclough 2000: 65) – indeed, the problem is seen to lie entirely with 'the marginalised'. Here, the idea of cultural capital remains an implicit underpinning, although the analytical capacity of this

concept is compromised, thereby delimiting the explanatory power afforded by the concept of social inclusion. This is because New Labour's attempts to deal with poverty have tended to obscure the power, privilege and position of 'the rich', as Levitas (2004: 49) points out:

*The dominant causal model of exclusion informing policy is a cultural one, in which the poor/excluded have the wrong values and attitudes that they pass on to their children, and fail therefore to acquire the appropriate skills and qualifications to succeed. It simultaneously obscures and legitimates wider social inequalities, and provides a lens through which the rich become virtually invisible.*

The cultural barriers identified in this model of exclusion are thereby limited to the working classes, unemployed and ethnic minorities, rather than examining the overall class structure. By reducing the issue in this manner, the critical roles played by discourse, ideology and institutionalisation, for example, are ignored, and the issues are subjected to a gross simplification. Here, the dominant discourse of social exclusion *itself* plays a role in obfuscating the underlying processes that cause exclusion in the first place. In short, it "... contributes to the symbolic erasure of actually existing class relations, rather than shedding light on how class domination is sustained" (Levitas 2004: 53). Moreover, inclusion runs the risk of an overly saturated alliance with the individual, and becomes something that someone can 'gain' through participation or consumption. Of course, the problem here is that in order to participate or consume, 'something' already has to have assumed a position of meaning or importance.

### *Social Inclusion and Cultural Life*

In the cultural sector, quests for social inclusion are frequently dressed up as attempts to promote "... equitable patterns of participation in those forms of cultural activity that have historically been ranked as high culture and which, in terms of demographic profiles of their publics, have been markedly socially exclusive" (Bennett and Savage 2004: 8). This focus on participation is more generally assessed in terms of 'access', whereby physical barriers and charging policies are examined in order to sponsor more "... equalised access to publicly funded cultural resources across all classes and ethnic groups – the revision to free entry policies for museums and galleries, for instance ..." (Bennett and Savage 2004: 9). It is important to note that it is through this route that concepts of cultural capital have been implicitly sewn into social inclusion policy agendas. As Mason (2004a: 54) points out, this is particularly transparent in New Labour's 1997



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document, *Create the Future: A Strategy for Cultural Policy, Arts and the Creative Economy, Leading Britain into the Future*, which begins with a quote from John Ruskin, a nineteenth-century philosopher whose writings were influential in establishing the AHD:

*A person who every day looks upon a beautiful picture, reads a page from some good book, and hears a beautiful piece of music will soon become a transformed person – one born again. (Cited in Mason 2004a: 54)*

This assumes the agency of art, and rehearses the hybridisation of ‘art for arts sake’ and a more instrumentalist understanding of The Arts, and, as Carey (2005: xi) points out, is a sentiment that can be “... *multiplied ad infinitum*”.

The notion of cultural capital is most commonly associated with those academic fields concerned with cultural studies, museum studies, leisure studies and film studies (Belfiore 2002: 91; Allin and Selwood 2004; Fyfe 2004: 47; Hill 2004; Looseley 2004; Roberts 2004; Newman 2005a; Bennett *et al.* 2005). Art galleries and museums, in particular, have been charged with fostering change within society and resolve a myriad of social problems (Newman and McLean 2004a: 167). Culture, then, has been given a key part to play in the delivery of social order, “... *helping to combat crime and create safe, active and cohesive communities*” (DCMS 2003f: 3). However, the utility of cultural capital has, again, been misapplied. The understanding remains about trying to better re-focus the lenses of ‘the excluded’ so that they can fulfil their opportunities to accumulate “... *the capital relevant to, and necessary to decode*” heritage places and experiences (Mason 2004a: 65) – or, failing that, design heritage places and experiences in such a way so as to make them accessible to all, regardless of specialised forms of capital (Newman 2005a: 233). The assumption, here, is that country houses, for example, can be presented in a way that carries a cultural message that can be assessed and decoded by a wide variety of social groups, not just those with the necessary social literacy to ‘read’ them.

The usefulness of the above discussion for this chapter lies with the wholesale transferral of the cultural capital/social inclusion relationship into the heritage sector, and specific attempts by DCMS and English Heritage to understand how cultural preferences, tastes and knowledges mediate the consumption of heritage.

Funding agreements between the department and its sponsored bodies are a clear indication of this:

*Following the government's Comprehensive Spending Review, DCMS will be reaching new funding agreements governing its grants to its sponsored bodies. These will set out clearly what outcomes we expect public investment to deliver and **some of these outcomes will relate to social inclusion** (Smith 1999, cited in Belfiore 2002: 91, emphasis added).*

DCMS's funding agreement covering the period 2003/04 to 2005/06 with English Heritage, for example, is no exception (DCMS 2005c). Allin and Selwood (2004: 2) suggest that the most significant attempt to fold social inclusion discourses into the cultural sphere came with reports associated with Policy Action Team 10 (PAT 10), authored by DCMS, *A Report to the Social Exclusion Unit: Arts and Sports (1999)*, which later prompted *Count Me In* (2002a) (see also Newman 2005b). In the former (DCMS 1999a: 8), the following is suggested: "*Arts and sport, cultural and recreational activity, can contribute to neighbourhood renewal and make a real difference to health, crime, employment and education in deprived communities.*" Another such attempt is the MORI Poll, a research project conducted for English Heritage by Market and Opinion Research International (MORI) between April and June 2000, with the aim to investigate *Attitudes Towards the Heritage* (MORI 2000). This project opened the way for further discussion and research into issues of social inclusion and the historic environment, and remains a prominent piece of analysis that continues to feed into ongoing debates (for further discussion, see Pendlebury *et al.* 2004: 21).

Key to this debate is the idea that "[B]eing cut off from key aspects of our culture is part of what drives social exclusion" (Jowell 2002: 3). Indeed, the therapeutic nature of culture, argues Jowell (2004: 3), will help alleviate "... the poverty of aspiration". Indeed, Jowell (2004: 18) goes on to assert that "*Culture alone can give people the means better to understand and engage with life, and as such is a key part in reducing inequality of opportunity, and which can help us slay the sixth giant of modern times – poverty of aspiration.*" In specific policy documents uniting social inclusion and the historic environment, it is pointed out that "... high quality, well-managed built environment improves the relationship between citizens and their environment and contributes significantly to social and economic regeneration... Poor design can have a serious effect on the safety, accessibility, adaptability and sustainability of neighbourhoods" (DCMS 2002c: 4–5). These statements will be explored in greater detail in Chapter 7. Already, a sense of different meanings of 'social inclusion' is evident in these statements: in particular, a distinctly instrumental view



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can be seen to be emerging, and the implications of this warrant exploration (see Chapter 7). The idea of heritage that disentangled itself from this timeframe drew similarities with the language of ‘investment’, in which funding invested in heritage held the promise of bringing about positive social changes and alleviating exclusion.

*Forked Tongues, Double Shuffles or Triumvirates?*

Informed by the analysis of social inclusion above, particularly that of Levitas, I aim to explore the different shifts in the texturing of discourses that the arrival of ‘social inclusion’ prompted for heritage policy. While the concept of social inclusion is certainly not new to the policy-making field, it has had a decisive, if not divisive influence on the direction taken by heritage policy. Indeed, it is one of a number of concepts that have been at the forefront of two reviews of government policy relating to the historic environment. Using the work of Levitas (2004) as a guide, I have isolated three discourses of social inclusion that will be traced through the heritage policy documents analysed in this chapter. As a starting point, Levitas (2004: 47) points out that these discourses basically operate around the insider/outsider dichotomy, and require a solution that considers “... *how to help, cajole, or coerce the outsiders over some perceived hurdle into the mainstream*”. While the premise underpinning this solution is fundamentally flawed – and this is a point that I will return to in a shortly – it nonetheless gives rise to three distinct directions for policy development.

The first is a straightforward division between ‘them’ and ‘us’, and an attempt to mitigate the problems this division poses for social cohesion, focusing on the apparent ‘therapeutic’ nature of culture and a truncated adaptation of the concept of cultural capital (Bennett and Savage 2004: 9). It is a paternalistic and patronising approach. The second pays closer attention to the urges of social democracy, and is a ‘democratising’ attempt to offer equal opportunities across all members of society, but again lacks any critical acuity. ‘Social inclusion’ following this perspective, is envisioned as a natural consequence of equality in participation and access, and therefore audience development based upon the notion of entitlement takes precedence (Sandell 2003: 47; Bennett and Savage 2004: 10). Finally, the third discourse skates considerably closer to the politics of cultural ‘assimilation’; indeed, some have argued that it is a tool of social control (Sandell 2003: 45; Smith 2006). In this guise, social inclusion becomes a tool of social engineering, in which those who sit outside of the AHD (whether by choice or by circumstance) are coerced inside

through education, persuasion and information. Of course, this is never explicitly stated, but it remains a textual suggestion. What all three discourses fail to do, however, is move beyond ideas of participation and education, and call into question the very nature of 'heritage' itself. Instead, heritage remains framed by an authorised heritage discourse that continues to define its nature. Moreover, all three presuppose a *desire* or *need* by a homogenous 'excluded' to access that very particular idea of heritage. As a note of caution, it is important to draw attention to the Weberian 'ideal types' (Levitas 2004: 3) proposed by these loose overviews of 'social inclusion' and acknowledge the limitations of their bearing on social reality. As is the case with other critical analyses of discourses of social exclusion (see, for example, Watt and Jacobs (2000: 15), these 'types' are only an initial exposition of heritage policy used to develop a deeper analysis.

Exactly what is happening in this mix of discourses requires further examination, with an eye to reveal the ideological undercurrents that hold hegemonic positions in these debates. The point of this chapter is not to argue *against* the union of social inclusion and heritage in any guise, but to suggest a rethinking of the direction in which these concepts are travelling. Indeed, it should not be the role of 'mainstream' heritage institutions, organisations and discourses to take the hand of the excluded and lead them into the fold, so to speak. Instead, genuine inclusion policies should reconsider the nature of 'heritage' itself and propose a new *understanding* of 'heritage' that does not inhibit non-conventional heritage users – rather, this new understanding should actively recognise and legitimise a range of different experiences, uses and, ultimately, senses of heritage. As such, questions need to be asked about the sort of change these new discourses have prompted, and analytical work needs to be done that reveals a more empowering relationship between the concepts of social inclusion and heritage. Drawing on arguments developed by Levitas (2004) and Bennett and Savage (2004), these discourses of social inclusion will be critically examined, not only in terms of the solutions they sponsor, but also for their construction of the 'problem' in the first place.

### **GOVERNMENT REVIEW OF POLICIES RELATING TO THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT**

One way to examine the discursive flow of 'social inclusion' in terms of heritage policy is to pinpoint its emergence and chart its uptake across the network of social practices concerned with heritage management. This has already been signalled, to



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some degree, in the previous section, in which an overview of the ‘career’ of social inclusion was undertaken. In this section, the occurrences of the discourses of social inclusion within the heritage sector will be more meaningfully explored. As such, I will examine the debates and consultations that gave rise to an interest in social inclusion, and will supplement this discussion with an analysis of the resultant documents in the following section.

The commitment to tackle social inclusion in the heritage sector was voiced by the House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport on a number of occasions, beginning in 1999. This commitment guided the sector through the establishment of a Heritage Forum, which was designed to develop a new heritage strategy, a number of consultation processes, and the eventual production of *Power of Place, A Force for our Future*, and subsequently, *People and Places*.

#### *An Invitation to Participate: The First Consultation*

This section begins with the second enquiry of the House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport, which arguably kick started this overhaul. On 29<sup>th</sup> April 1999, the Committee issued a press release welcoming written evidence on a number of themes considered pertinent to the operation of DCMS (Coupe 2001: 9). The result of this enquiry was the two-volumed ‘Sixth Report’ (House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport 1999a). In the memorandums received in response to the call for written evidence, the issue of ‘social exclusion’ was raised only twice, both times in the memorandum submitted by English Heritage. What is interesting about these specific references are the ways in which the vagueness of statements regarding social exclusion and/or inclusion were transferred into equally vague strategic plans *specifically designed* for the heritage sector. For example, explicit links were made between DCMS’s objectives and English Heritage’s programme and proposed outputs, all of which were tabulated in the Memorandum submitted by English Heritage to the Select Committee on Wednesday 16<sup>th</sup> June 1999, under the section entitled ‘*Role of Quangos in Delivering the Objectives of the DCMS*’. Here, one of five DCMS aims was submitted as follows:

*Promote the role of the Department’s sectors in urban and rural regeneration/economic development in pursuing sustainability and in combating social inclusion (English Heritage 1999: 4).*

This was translated into an English Heritage programme dedicated to:

*Conserving and enhancing the historic environment for present and future generations (English Heritage 1999: 4).*

Similarly, a second DCMS objective highlighted the need to:

*Ensure that everyone has opportunity to achieve excellence, and to develop talent, innovation and good design (English Heritage 1999: 4).*

In terms of English Heritage delivery, this translated as:

*Increasing understanding of the historic environment (English Heritage 1999: 4).*

Similarly, the notion of social inclusion is touched upon only fleetingly in oral evidence offered during the enquiry process, and again it was addressed uncritically. However, the significance attributed to social inclusion here was heightened, and a drive to harness the heritage sector to broader governmental agendas becomes apparent.

*It is particularly disappointing in that one of my hopes and the GHS's [Garden History Society] hopes and no doubt shared generally was that with the new administration there would be a rethinking about the contribution of the historic environment to the quality of life. These much broader terms about social inclusion, about healthy living and so on, seem very promising and **the historic environment contributes to the day to day quality of life of the vast majority of people**. To find ourselves still being seen as a pigeon-hole, a minority interest, is very disappointing this long into the new administration (House of Commons Committee for Culture, Media and Sport 1999b – Questions 137–162, paragraph 141, emphasis added).*

A second reference to the social inclusion agenda is made by Mr Oliver Pearcey, Director of Conservation, English Heritage, who remarks upon:

*... the cross-cutting objectives such as social inclusion, where we believe that helping people to understand the value of the built environment around them is a **critical part of binding communities and creating hope for the future** (House of Commons Committee for Culture, Media and Sport 1999c – Questions 163–179, paragraph 170, emphasis added).*

A third and final statement was made by the then Rt Hon Chris Smith, Secretary of State for DCMS:

*The comprehensive spending review also resulted in a much stronger recognition of the DCMS's role in taking forward the Government's social and economic agendas as well as being responsible for so many things which are essential for the nation's quality of life. I firmly*



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*believe that the arts, sport, tourism, museums, libraries, broadcasting and the built heritage, can **play a major part in the regeneration of our communities**, whether urban or rural (House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport 1999d – Questions 318–339, paragraph 319, emphasis added).*

By the end of this enquiry, the social inclusion agenda had picked up considerable potency and drive. This is evidenced in the Sixth Report, which proposes a number of recommendations and assumptions, including the assertion that:

*... there is a strong case for a more thorough review of heritage policy by the Department. There are several reasons why such a review ought to consider heritage policy in the context of wider Government policies. First, **heritage can make a significant contribution to regeneration**...It should be the responsibility of the Department for Culture, Media and Sport to develop a heritage strategy which demonstrates to all relevant Government departments the contribution which English Heritage and other heritage agencies can make to regeneration (House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport 1999a – volume 1, paragraph 47, emphasis added).*

Based on the written and oral evidence offered by a range of interest groups, the Select Committee made the following recommendation:

*We recommend that the Department for Culture, Media and Sport establish a Heritage Forum to develop a new heritage strategy. This body should be established in close cooperation with the Department of the Environment, Transport and the Regions to **ensure that integrated consideration is given to the relationship of heritage policy to urban and rural regeneration** and to environmental sustainability (House of Commons Committee on Culture, Media and Sport 1999a – volume 1, paragraph 50, emphasis added).*

The end point for the above enquiry, announced on 2<sup>nd</sup> February 2000, was the much-publicised and “... *first ever comprehensive review of the nation’s historic environment*” (English Heritage 2000s). Over the course of ten months, therefore, the belief in the ability of ‘heritage’ to contribute positively to social inclusion moved from an understanding that it *could* do something to the idea that it had *huge* potential. In a letter to Sir Jocelyn Stevens in which this review was commissioned, Alan Howard, the Minister for the Arts, asserted that:

*The physical survivals of the past **have a huge contribution to make to contemporary life**, both in terms of their inherent qualities and because of their relevance to other Government objectives ... (DCMS 2000a, emphasis added).*

Within this letter, Howarth drew attention to a number of policy areas that were considered central to the review phase, of which two relate specifically to social inclusion:

- *the role of the historic environment in promoting regeneration and social inclusion;*
- *The use of the heritage as an educational resource and the promotion of appreciation and involvement of the heritage, especially among young people and ethnic minorities (DCMS 2000a).*

With the launch of this review, Alan Howarth further remarked that:

*Our built heritage is of extraordinary quality. Too much of it, however, is fragile and vulnerable. We must take the best care possible of it. All who have a responsibility for its stewardship must work vigilantly and imaginatively for its preservation and enhancement. **We need to be confident in enabling the heritage to play its part in creating a better environment and a better society in the new century** (DCMS 2000a, emphasis added).*

It is in the genesis of this review that the first explicit expressions of a need to address social exclusion can be seen, but this was really only the beginning. What is important to note at this point is the investment of ‘cultural capital’ into the authorised heritage discourse. Moreover, in this case study it is possible to see the incorporation of the language of one element within a network of social practices into another, or in other words, the appropriation and recontextualisation of ‘social exclusion’ within the social practice of heritage management. The review process discussed above was, of course, more complicated and extensive than the particular set of statements that I have incorporated suggests, but their inclusion is an important part of this analytical exercise. What they offer is a sense of the embedding of ‘social inclusion’ into the authorised heritage discourse, and an explicitly *social* perspective begins to form a relationship with a distinctly *material* perspective. The overwhelming projection of ‘heritage’ we see coming out of these examples is afforded a new range of social roles: it is an enabler, a promoter, a contributor and a player. This idea was also expressed in interview:

*... there is this thing where ‘heritage’ has been made twee ... because heritage is being shown as a saviour, where actually it is the people who are the saviour, in the way that they interact with heritage ... (Interviewee Two, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> November 2005).*

However, while an explicitly social perspective is being invoked, there is little account taken of the involvement of any actual social *agency*. Indeed, heritage, itself,



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is metaphorically being *allowed to act*. Who is allowing this, and why, needs to be examined, as does the overall significance of making these linguistic and semantic choices. One thing to note at the outset of this textual analysis is the synergy the statements already included find with Factor One, which raises the suggestion that while we may talk about the AHD in the following section, it is, in all likelihood, a subtly altered version of the stereotypical discourse posited by Smith as it responds to calls for social inclusion.

Before undertaking a closer inspection of these issues, I first want to pull into the frame a number of other events, which together take the analysis to the point of the actual 'review' of policies by a number of Working Groups. Following Howarth's letter, *An Invitation to Participate* was extended to a number of individuals, comprising the first part of the consultation process. Two points are highlighted in this invitation: first, the need to identify the broadened "... *aspirations for the heritage and the role it plays in modern life*", explicitly linked to social inclusion agendas; and, second, the need to recognise the broadened definition of heritage, extended to include "... *the material remains of the past in England*", which knows no chronological, thematic, geographical, scalar or ethnic limits (English Heritage 2000a: 1). The intended result is to "... *help all communities to define and value what is important to them*" (English Heritage 2000a: 1). This introductory story offers a snapshot into the formulation of a hybrid discourse, in which the 'democratising' discourse of social inclusion, highlighted in the previous section, is noticeable. Here, the material remains of the past are an entitlement of all communities, and the role of the heritage manager is to assist with the nurturing of that apparently natural relationship. In reading between the lines, it seems that any lack of an engagement with those material remains has arisen as a consequence of an inability to recognise and value those remains.

### **Working Group 1: The Historic Environment – Condition, Trends, Future**

These invitations resulted in the creation of five Working Groups, overseen by a Steering Group chaired first by Sir Jocelyn Stevens and then Sir Neil Cossons (English Heritage 2000a: 2). The Discussion Papers produced by these working groups were the end result of the first round of consultations, and from there were put forward to the public in the second round of consultations (English Heritage 2000a: 2). Together, these rounds of consultations were to produce an overall report, to be submitted to the government by September 2000. A number of

principles and objectives were listed in the invitation as expected outcomes to the process, including: a long-term vision, an agenda for action, a broad, holistic definition of the historic environment, the role played by the historic environment in terms of cohesion, regeneration and inclusion, an understanding of its economic potential, ways of increasing access and the formulation of efficient instruments for its protection (English Heritage 2000a: 3). The five working groups were organised around these key objectives: (1) The Historic Environment: Condition, Trends and Future Contexts; (2) Public Involvement and Access; (3) Tourism; (4) Regulation, Statutory Procedures, Protection and Characterisation; and (5) Sustainability, Economic and Social Growth. Of interest here is Working Group 1, which was given the remit of developing a new definition of the historic environment:

*This final definition will be a leading element of the Report to Ministers, and it must therefore be the foundation for a compelling case that a well-protected, publicly-appreciated and sensibly-used historic environment is central to a healthy and prosperous modern society (English Heritage 2000c: 6).*

This group was made up of individuals affiliated with various university Departments of Archaeology, the Countryside Agency, the Victorian Society, the English Historic Towns Forum, the World Heritage Forum, English Nature, archaeological units, the Heritage Lottery Fund, the National Parks, the National Trust, the Black Environment Network, DCMS, DETR and English Heritage.

In the first meeting, each group was given three background documents to foster discussion: A background paper entitled *About the Review* (2000b), a briefing for each Working Group and a third document entitled *Canvassing Ideas* (2000d). In addition to themes that found expression in the *Invitation to Participate* (2000a), three further fundamental ideas were highlighted in the initial document:

- *The past's crucial role in the future: why is the historic environment so important?*
- *The significance of local-ness and the commonplace, for its own sake and as the context for the special and the outstanding;*
- *Thinking about England's not English Heritage: Encompassing the need to look at the historic environment in England, rather than at the English historic environment (English Heritage 2000b: 5).*

It is worth reflecting back on the nuances of the authorised heritage discourse illuminated throughout the previous chapter, and noting the resemblance the above ideas have to that subtly changing discourse. In particular, two discourses, or



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factors, identified in Chapter 4 are picked up again here. Centrally, the revelations emerging out of Chapter 5 draw our attention to a singular heritage discourse, which regulated the flow of discursive exchange according to a relatively inflexible storyline. The framing of heritage bought to bear within this discourse revolved around the notion of a peopleless heritage anchored to a past and saved for the future. Here, active agency on the part of present generations was downplayed, and, according to this narrative, people were reduced and re-imagined as passive receptors of education and information. Simultaneously, the authority of expertise was exalted, with only specific collections of knowledge considered capable of extending 'proper' care to the past through 'immaculate' management. This drew from the established understanding that value and significance are inherent and immutable, and should be managed 'for their own sake', an interpretation that is deaf to ongoing discursive struggles and tensions between different interest groups and stakeholders attempting to define meaning. The specific understanding of heritage sustained by this discourse focused upon the monumental, built and tangible, particularly sites monuments and groups of buildings. This discourse arguably arose out of a historical association with the discipline of archaeology. Moreover, this discursive framing of heritage was pitched at the national level.

The operationalisation of this discourse was identifiable in interview, where the following phrases were commonplace:

*I sometimes feel that they think archaeology is the only heritage (Interviewee One, English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2005)*

*... fabric and artefacts are paramount (Interviewee Two, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> November 2005)*

*... [it is] what happens at our guardianship sites, laid down under manicured grass (Interviewee Two, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> November 2005)*

*... it is everything man[sic]-made about the past ... (Interviewee Three, English Heritage, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005)*

A similar construction of 'heritage' is already noticeable in this chapter, although the focus has shifted to allow for the recognition of present generations. Like Factor One, also recognisable towards the end of Chapter 5, this recognition is explicitly directed towards educational and informational notions of value as something that is *received*.

The location of power embedded within this reification of the discourse thus remains hidden, and continues to act in favour of an idea of heritage associated with a particular and prioritised social group. Indeed, clarifying statements used in this document further illustrate the point: *“Our understanding of the past through archaeological, architectural historic and other methods creates knowledge of our own cultural identity...the historic environment underlies sense of place, and local and regional identity”* (English Heritage 2000b: 5). Here, identity, while tied up in notions of the collective, is cast in the singular, and the implicit idea of homogeneity bound up in this casting needs to be challenged. Certainly it does in the context of social inclusion. As Benwell and Stokoe (2006) argue, identities intersect in multidimensional ways and are *post-discursive*. Further, Hall (2000: 18) suggests that *“The unity, the internal homogeneity, which the term identity treats as foundational is not a natural, but a constructed form of closure, every identity naming as its necessary, even if silenced and unspoken other, that which it ‘lacks’.”* Identity itself is thus a discursive resource that is drawn upon to mediate and legitimise existing social relations. Developing an argument raised earlier in this chapter regarding ‘cultural capital’, this singular construction of identity carries persuasive power, and is therefore a point worthy of further consideration. If this persuasive power, operating through discourse, identifies a particular ‘identity’ as natural and desirable, it will inevitably be linked with a discourse of social inclusion that is assimilating, colonising and directing. This is a point that will be returned to later in this chapter.

It is also worth developing a sense of the objectives underpinning this review as gleaned from the third document, *Canvassing Ideas*. This paper hinges upon the idea that:

*In asking English Heritage to co-ordinate this work, Government re-affirmed its strong commitment to the preservation of the historic environment, recognising that the physical survivals of the past have a huge contribution to make to contemporary life and is relevant to many areas of government policy (English Heritage 2000d: 1).*

It is further characterised by the following statements:

*The ‘historic entity’ ought to be the scale adopted for conservation, irrespective of whether its components are listed or scheduled monuments, gardens, or the whole of a settlement, whether conservation area or not (English Heritage 2000d: 3).*

*The past is therefore not after all a foreign country; it is a state of mind ... This state of mind is defined in our present-day surroundings by all the material*



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*remains of the past that we can see, or that we can appreciate in other ways*  
...(English Heritage 2000d: 4).

*It can have different meanings and values for each community or individual, but in any case its significance, value and its wide human and social relevance, will always be constantly altered and renewed as people's engagement with it changes*  
(English Heritage 2000d: 5).

In these statements, we see a receding of some of the common features of the storyline identified in the previous chapter, and the convergence of this storyline with new issues. Some parts of the storyline remain ingrained and unquestioned, but these are now in the company of potentially competing notions. This is perhaps best captured by the contrasting statements “... *the past is a state of mind*” defined “... *by all the material remains of the past*”. The latter of these two statements bears close resemblance to the utterances highlighted in conjunction with the *AMAA*, *NHA* and *PPG15*, whereas the former represents an approach that had not yet been given credence within heritage debates thus far. There is also an element of discomfort evident in the final statement highlighted above, in which the new emergence of ideas of difference and multiplicity takes place, but remains vague and unfocused. This, I argue, is a revealing instance of the materialisation of Factor One, which is attempting to draw in the possibility of debate and conflict without at the same time relinquishing a strongly held belief in the idea of an inherently *positive* heritage. It is a discourse that appears distinctly uncomfortable with the idea of dissonance. This can be more clearly exemplified by a closer inspection of the semantic relations between the clauses of this sentence. The excerpt begins with a straightforward recognition of the existence of multiple meanings and values, but this clause, while seemingly cohesive with the next, is linked with the strikingly odd conjunction, but in any case. In the span of these four short words, the multiplicity of meanings attached to the historic environment are quickly reduced back to the singular, and while this ‘singular’ significance, value and relevance may change over time, the assumption is that within any given time period, it will always be consensual and definitive. The elaboration following the first clause thereby offers a more distinct – and interesting – picture.

A fourth document was presented to Working Group 1, the *Outline Discussion Paper*, in which the remit of the group was summarised (English Heritage 2000e: 1). It is useful to examine this paper in tandem with the Minutes for the First Meeting, in order to gain a sense of those issues that were recognised as important in

conversation, and those that were not. Under ‘definitions’ in the first of these documents, the two terms ‘heritage’ and ‘historic environment’ were distinguished:

*‘Historic environment’ appears to be the more objective. Simply, it means the historic dimensions of the current environment, those parts which derive from the past and from human activity (English Heritage 2000e: 2).*

*Heritage conversely primarily carries a strong sense of being culturally significant, even of being cherished. It is certainly subjective and it raises the clear (but difficult) issue of ownership (English Heritage 2000e: 2).*

The task of distinguishing the two concepts, ‘heritage’ and ‘historic environment’, a task that is never concretely explained or justified, is not confined to the consultation process alone: indeed, it has had repercussions beyond. What needs to be considered here is what exactly is driving the need to not only separate the two concepts, but privileged that latter over the former. As one interviewee commented:

*I am not sure how you are defining heritage for your purposes, but we talk about the historic environment rather than heritage, which is quite a cultural concept. The historic environment is a lot easier to define ... (Interviewee Six, Council for British Archaeology, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2005).*

*It has been felt that the historic environment more accurately captures what we are trying to talk about in a way that heritage doesn’t, because heritage has very strong connotations in peoples’ minds. (Interviewee Eleven, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

The ease of definition supposedly attached to the term ‘historic environment’ is a notion I will return to in Chapter 7. Further clarification for this distinction was offered in interview while discussing the idea of ‘time-depth’ as a means of registering the significance of heritage:

*Do you mean thresholds for designation, like in PPG15? ... For designation purposes it is essential. Recent ‘heritage’ is difficult and surrounded by conflict and contestation (Interviewee Four, the Heritage Lottery Fund, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2005).*

Again, the subjectivities attached to the concept of ‘heritage’ are used to draw attention to the potential for dissonance and conflict. The discursive move away from the difficulties inherent to the world of ‘heritage’, particularly recent heritage, is reminiscent of the storylines that animate Factor One, or the romanticised AHD, which prefer to construct a sense of a socially positive and consensual view of ‘heritage’. This is not simply a rejection of alternative points of view; it is a rejection



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a 'heritage' that can *ever* be unpleasant or difficult. This line of argument was supported by further interview material, including the following:

*If you look at something like Hadrian's Wall ... because it is 2000 years old and doesn't belong to a nation, but to a culture that is still dominant, nobody worries about that aspect of it [conflict and colonial oppression], they think of it as a beautiful monument in a beautiful landscape (Interviewee Eight, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

Underpinning this statement particularly and, indeed, emerging in all of the above statements, is the idea that time has the potential to tame 'the past' and render it amenable. With this soothing of time, old scars fade away and past tensions are eradicated, leaving us with simply the aesthetics of age. For those things that have undergone this sanitisation process, the discourse reserves the name 'the historic environment', and for those things that remain too close to conflict and too uncomfortably dissonant, a possibility that increases the more recent an event or experience is, the term 'heritage' is used. This is a linguistic strategy employed to separate those things that are too difficult so that they fall beyond or outside of the social practice of management. This process is inevitably guided by the notion that our engagements with the past should be positive: it is 'our inheritance', after all. However, in adhering too closely to this notion of a 'positive', 'inherited' past, we run the risk of being blind to the possibility of disinheritance.

An added consequence of this appeal to age, which sits in close conjunction with the need to sanitise and soothe the past, is that the work done by this plays out most concretely in terms of expertise. As pointed out in interview:

*There is this idea that they [archaeologists] use the remoteness of time argument to say that only science can provide answers ... they will revert to type and they will always go back and say but we are specialists, and you need specialist knowledge to understand this (Interviewee One, English Heritage 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004).*

Through this discursive rendering of 'remote time', as inaccessible as it is made to appear, archaeologists become the occupiers of a place of privilege, whether this is explicitly recognised or not. That place of privilege adds the already heroic identity of archaeologist who, along with other groups of experts, are discursively and socially marked out as

*... rescuers, as the saviours, because they were the one's who stopped development and got in there and saved archaeology...they are the environmental crusaders ...*

*fighting the good fight (Interviewee One, English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004).*

It is thus interesting to note that:

*... at DCMS they have taken on board that certainly English Heritage now insist on the [term] Historic Environment, and they specifically changed the name of their division [referring here to the Architecture and Historic Environment Division] ... Probably in terms of what we do 'Historic Environment' is a **safer term** ... (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005, my emphasis).*

The idea that heritage is subjective and thus open to conflict, debate and contestation in a way that the historic environment apparently is not speaks volumes of the pervasiveness of the idea of a 'safe' and 'comfortable' past. The historic environment, it is assumed, "... means what it says on the box" (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005), and arrives without risk of unpleasant surprises. What is interesting about this bifurcation is that it is based on the assumption that such a division may even be possible in the first place. The malleability of heritage reflected in the above statements is reminiscent of the sentiments expressed by Factor Three in the Q sorts (see Chapter 4), and is used to legitimise, or is perhaps *legitimised by*, the clarification of terms between 'heritage' and 'historic environment'. The former is to be approached with scepticism, while the latter is a far more trustworthy concept. Further, this element of trustworthiness revolves explicitly around notions of time-depth, and thus connection, the idea being that the further back in time we 'locate' heritage, the less likely it is that that heritage will find attachment and connection to current populations. Again, we are drawn to the notion of *legitimacy*.

Referring back to the consultation process, it seems that while no explicit direction was given in this first document, the summary presented in the minutes offers a clearer idea of the terms, particularly the favouring of the 'historic environment'. The point I am making here is that the consultation process was used to firm up the following ideas:

*A definition for the historic environment which would be more objective, all-embracing, holistic, inclusive and relevant, which would have comprehensive geographical coverage of every part of the country (English Heritage 2000f: 8).*



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An interviewee from the Heritage Lottery Fund, who was also a participant in the consultation process, offered the following definition:

*If you are talking about the historic environment then you are referring to the definition English Heritage employs, which regards all physical remains of the past as encompassed within that definition, primarily buildings, sites and monuments ... it is wrong to use them [the terms heritage and historic environment] interchangeably ... The data for the historic environment in England draws upon the institutional capacities of archaeology, architectural history, designs and landscape ... these make up the knowledge base for formulating policy pertaining to the historic environment (Interviewee Four, Heritage Lottery Fund, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2005).*

The idea of an *objective*, historic environment was realised across this genre chain, whereas the ‘subjectivity’ of heritage was not. As Interviewee One points out, this name change occurred as a response to New Labour’s political agenda:

*Now, since 1997 and the new political agenda ... people are having to change to a new political agenda (Interviewee One, English Heritage 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004).*

Moreover, as the following go on to note:

*Unfortunately, as I said earlier, what seems to be happening is that rather than changing the way we think, we’ve just changed the title of what we do ... and we just pay lip-service to it (Interviewee One, English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004).*

*... given the fact that England is increasingly a multi-ethnic space, don’t we need to look seriously at what constitutes the historic environment? If we simply pay lip service to the issue, does it devalue English Heritage as an institution? (Justice 2006: 1).*

Operating alongside this objective/subjective dichotomy comes the corresponding notion of understanding. If we talk of an ‘objective’ historic environment, it is easier to accept that there are definitive means of reaching that ‘past’ and understanding it. This, it would seem, requires something different – and inevitably easier – than interrogating the expressions of subjectivity associated with heritage. A related point was made by Interviewee Six (Council for British Archaeology, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2005):

*As an evidence-based discipline, it [archaeology] provides the understanding upon which all decisions would have to be taken about change ... we would say that if you don’t understand what it is that you are managing then you can’t possibly make intelligent decisions about how you are going to change it and manage it and make, er, release the public potential, benefit that is in it ... so we would say that archaeology has that primacy in the sense that it is the process for understanding that has to underpin conservation.*



The absence of subjectivity is given further analytical weight by proceeding statements in the first of these documents, which ponder a move away from the dominant sphere of management by asking: “... *should we include anthropological subjects such as popular culture, dialect, language, customs, dance and ritual?*” (English Heritage 2000e: 3). The answer, as suggested by the second document, is “No”. Here, there is simply a need to “... *ensure that the definition and the Review [does] not restrict itself to ‘material remains’ but should also consider the ‘cultural environment’*” (English Heritage 2000f: 8). Attempts to broaden definitions have, on this occasion, been shut down and left untold. Interestingly, this discussion led on to issues of inclusion, and raised questions over the best means by which to implement this, through marketing or modification:

*... that is, can we re-package our product (ie the definition) so as to sell it more effectively, or should we go further and modify it so that it fits the needs of a wider section of the population. This can be achieved by taking three broad themes ...:*

- *Our cultural environments as seen by foreign visitors;*
- *Meanings of Englishness; and*
- *So-called minority and counter cultures (English Heritage 2000e: 3).*

What I am arguing, here, is that the incorporation of social inclusion triggered a need to change something, or to be seen to change something at the very least. This somewhat cynical statement above quite explicitly opens up the possibility that this ‘change’ may take the shape of ‘rebranding’, underneath which nothing much would change. Likewise, this seems closely aligned with Interviewee One’s comments (see also Justice above) that social inclusion was something to which ‘we’ (in this case, English Heritage) pay lip-service. While this idea will be explored in further detail in Chapter 7, two points are important here: first, the possibility that social inclusion may well be satisfied through a process of rebranding; and, second, that the rebranding appears to be taking place at the level of the nation. In the second document, this is translated into:

*The definition ... should be inclusive and relevant to the public at large. Whilst tourism gave an external perspective on the historic environment, the Working Group needed to consider regional distinctiveness and Englishness and how the historic environment could use conservation as a vehicle of cultural exchange (English Heritage 2000f: 8).*

In interview, this weaving of social inclusion and nationalism was explicit:

*It [social inclusion] is to do with nationalism. As a high degree of interest in nationalism, and in proving that our architecture was English, as it were, still*



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*underlies a lot of what goes on, it is essentially do to with an expression of nationalism and we have a debate here over whether we should be called English Heritage or England's Heritage (Interviewee Twelve, English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005).*

The interesting issue about the transition is that the economics have all but disappeared in the second and third examples; the one point that retains its importance across both is the idea of Englishness. The nationalisation of heritage continues to hold strong. If we take this idea of Englishness and weave into it the broader discourse of social inclusion, we are left with a very questionable idea of belonging. The past becomes a central possession of an identity project fuelled by nationalism, or Englishness, and a very distinct manufacturing of commonality comes to mediate the process of 'fitting in' (Fortier 1999: 42).

The blatant injection of a language of marketing and enterprise as found in the first example, through words such as *re-package*, *product* and *sell*, is softened in the second extraction, although still present in the reference to tourism. Tourism thus becomes an important avenue through which social inclusion can be achieved, albeit a particular and limited version of inclusion, as exemplified by the following comment:

*... the other way of trying to do it [social inclusion] is through promoting tourism ... If they see it and can understand it because you present it in that way, they will begin to, well ... to put it crudely, they will value it more and take a greater interest in its preservation (Interviewee Three, English Heritage, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005)*

This is, as the interviewee points out, a particularly crude, cynical and simplified way of thinking about social inclusion. It also makes quite a powerful statement of how heritage audiences, users and visitors are perceived from within the dominant discourse. Here, the institutional messages of 'heritage' are assumed to be passively and unthinkingly absorbed, thereby neglecting the sophistication and complexity of engagement by many 'heritage' users. Indeed, it is based upon the flawed conception of audiences as simplistic (Aitchison 1999: 63; Crouch 1999; Bagnall 2003: 94; Macdonald 2005a,b; Smith 2006).

The discursive slippage towards marketisation was also evident in many of the interviews undertaken, in which the terms 'customer', 'client', 'service package' and 'clientele group' were used frequently:

*... if it can be packaged away in a way they will understand, we will do it  
(Interviewee Three, English Heritage, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005)*

*Philosophically, I think the aim is to sustain heritage assets so as to enjoy them  
... (Interviewee Four, the Heritage Lottery Fund, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2006)*

*... we need to be far more conscious about the reach that we have to our audiences  
... (Interviewee Six, Council for British Archaeology, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2006)*

*... responsive to the needs of our customers (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage,  
4<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

*... we consult with all these different client groups ... (Interviewee Thirteen,  
English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005)*

*One of the things we are moving to do is underpin these big ideas with the creation  
of a new statutory definition of 'Historic Assets'. Not historic environment,  
historic assets (Interviewee Eleven, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

Also striking are the contradictory ideas of social inclusion implicit within these statements, which are ironed out in favour of a market-led approach in the second extract. This offers a brief flash of the hybridisation of the neo-liberal regime with social democracy, in which demands of economics, competition and efficiency are visible, and for the first time, it is possible to see attempts at reconstructing heritage in economic terms. The following points to a similar understanding:

*The government, um, economic value is the one they are bound to understand ... If you can put a number on it, then turn those numbers into pounds, the government understands...well, you can reduce it to numbers of non-white people who visit places. It is almost racist. But that is the kind of way you have to do it. And you can do it by economic group. It is terribly crude ... It is understood. We [...] it is the game we have to play (Interviewee Three, 23<sup>rd</sup> November 2005).*

Again, in the discourse underpinnings of this utterance heritage is being lexicalised in a very particular way. In addition, the pronoun 'our' is doing important work (can we re-package our product, our audiences, our customers). As a direct consequence of the producer–consumer relationship set up in statement, ownership is legitimised in favour of the 'producer'.

An immediate project undertaken by WG1 was to begin to negotiate, debate and draft a discussion paper that lay down a new, workable definition for the historic environment that contrasts to, or distinguishes itself from, the term 'heritage'.



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*Names are powerful – once something is named, ideas about it become fixed. Once a building is listed, when it is called heritage, for example, responses to it change rapidly (English Heritage 2000g: 4).*

*Wide acceptance that the new philosophy will be founded on a holistic definition of the historic environment, within which heritage sits (i.e. those things that we choose to try to keep and which one or more parts of the community regard as special) (English Heritage 2000b: 1–2).*

*Recognising this and forming a view on which parts of the historic are most precious is the first step to deciding what should be kept or modified, and in what form – in other words, to sustaining our heritage for the future (G. Fairclough 1997: 16).*

In the context of these discussions, ‘heritage’ is also argued to mean “... *very different things to different people*”, while ‘historic environment’ is “... *a more neutral term*” (English Heritage 2000g: 5). In both of the above statements, a progression is discernable in the semantic relations binding the clauses of the sentences. This progression is suggestive of a transition from neutral to subjective and, moreover, this transition appears to occur within a distinct phase of the management process. What is striking about this alignment is the association that people ascribe value and meaning, subjectivity, only once it has been signalled as heritage – only once *the management process* has plucked something out as worthy. ‘Things’, as is pointed out by these statements, are re-framed by an authority, and it seems that it is only from this point that different parts of the community can begin to ascribe or attach meaning. This has important consequences for the notions of social inclusion I have been drawing upon throughout the chapter and is an interesting mix of the paternalistic and assimilatory discourses mentioned at its outset. As the first quote in the sequence above suggests (English Heritage 2000g: 4), names are powerful, as is the process of *naming*. Those in a position to name something as heritage are thus also in a position to ultimately control meaning and value, and as a consequence, render redundant those organic meanings and values developing outside of expertise. This anchoring of ‘the expert’ to the naming of heritage has significant implications for any attempts to develop a socially inclusive management process. Most importantly, these implications are played out in the distances that are placed between the very notion of social inclusion and the process of naming. If heritage is subjective, it is in need of management.

Certain aspects of the AHD identified in the previous chapters are at work here, particularly notions of an objective, material reality. Again, there is an oscillation at

play between the stereotypical characterisation of the AHD found within Factor Two 'A' and the more muted and romanticised version of Factor One, which appears to have incorporated a distinct understanding of social inclusion. The historic environment, bound by its materiality, is leant the conceptual capacity to transform 'things' into 'cultural significance', and this peculiar transformative movement afforded to the management process suddenly has the power to objectify identity. This borrows from an argument developed by Handler (1988: 14, cited in Macdonald 2003: 3), who states that "*Westerners believe that a thing ... presents itself unambiguously to human subjects who can ... apprehend the thing as it really is*". Moreover, for the historic environment, this comes with the provenance of expertise. Three notable points can be extracted from the argument I have developed thus far: first, those involved in the review are far more comfortable with the notion of 'historic environment'; second, this notion shares considerable conceptual space with Handler's notion of 'things'; and finally, these 'things' are somehow symbolically removed from the sticky area of ownership in a way that heritage is not. Possession, it must be assumed, enters at the national collective level, which is similarly naturalised as objective and unproblematic.

It is worth exploring what appear to be the undercurrents guiding the process described above a little more critically. If, as the textual relationships discussed suggest, there is a purposeful, discursive distinction taking place between 'heritage' and 'the historic environment', we need to ask why? What does this distinction achieve or mask? While it may seem inevitable to suggest that there is an issue of power and control hidden amongst the textual workings here, it is a suggestion I want to make nonetheless. This is an instance of what Fairclough (see Chapter 5) refers to as 'hidden power', in which the construction of a neutral historic environment and a subjective heritage brings with it a certain level of implicit control and power. As such, it is important to consider that this transference from neutral to subjective is a mediated one, mediated precisely by certain elements of the AHD, whether they are muted or obvious. The opacity of the relationship between the notions of 'heritage' and 'historic environment' allows the process of management to take a rather one-sided approach for the majority of its motion, providing a realm for 'social inclusion' only once that process is coming to an end.

*Things are worth keeping because of their historic significance or importance ...  
there is also a responsibility put upon government to promote access to these things*



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*as much as possible to as many different people as possible (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

It is thus interesting to note that the pervasiveness of the term ‘historic environment’ occurs almost in tandem with the wider emergence of a concern with social inclusion. Is this pervasiveness less to do with pure semantics and as much to do with issues of power? As a word of caution at this point, however, I want to return to Bourdieu (1977: 79) and his remark that “... *it is because subjects do not, strictly speaking, know what they are doing that what they do has more meaning than they know*”. The point I want to make here, or rather reiterate, is that the distancing and assumed neutrality of the historic environment, coupled with the need for expertise to *name* heritage, renders many of the underpinning causes of social inclusion ineffective. Responsibilities for ‘socially including’ are thereby carefully avoided.

This characterisation of the two terms ‘heritage’ and ‘historic environment’ was not as clear-cut as the first draft discussion document suggests, however. It is essential for this thesis that alternative viewpoints are noted and watched carefully, in terms of how they are eventually placed in the final product, *Power of Place*. As one participant noted:

*... I still feel there is a degree of confusion that leads us to fall back on the historic environment as an external ‘thing’ out there awaiting attention. Hence, the discussion moved towards an ‘all-embracing’ definition that would include all of the thing. Behind this effort there seems to be an assumption that if the whole thing is included, then the definition will be value-free and universally acceptable (Firth 2000).*

For the moment, this dissent has been subdued and regulated by a suite of assumptions that hold dominance, as is illustrated by the first draft, dated 25<sup>th</sup> April 2000 (see **Appendix 16**).

To explore this idea of regulation further, it is worth reflecting on the discursive work undertaken by the remaining working groups. Indeed, if the very idea of ‘heritage’ and the ‘historic environment’ were under scrutiny by Working Group 1, then what definitions were guiding the work undertaken by Group 2, for example, as it operated in tandem?

In an attempt to circumvent this problem, Working Group 2 attempted to steer discussions around an idea of the ‘historic environment’ *in its broadest sense*: This encompassed:

- *All the physical evidence which form today’s landscape ...;*
- *Every aspect of the built environment ...;*
- *Any objects which either survive in situ or which have been removed to a museum environment; and*
- *Sites, buildings and landscapes which are not protected by law as well as those which are protected (English Heritage 2000i: 3).*

Immediately, it is obvious that this ‘*broadest sense*’ is actually a default position. Beyond the theorising and questioning ongoing within Group 1, there is a reversion to the norm, or the naturalised category of ‘things’ that make up the historic environment. The familiarity of sites, monuments and buildings has the more recent addition of landscapes in tow, but this collective simply rehearses assumptions developed in the 1970s. Indeed, the privileging of these key elements becomes part of more widespread attempts to regulate the idea of heritage to the public, for this is the Working Group dealing with public involvement and access. The above list is further reinforced by discussions developed by Working Group 3, concerned with Tourism, and their assertion that the “... *report must be about tangible not intangible culture*” (English Heritage 2000j: 3). Justification for this recommendation is lacking. A significant barrier is thus imposed between various perspectives of heritage. Moreover, this variety of perspectives does not appear to be recognised. Little conceptual space is allowed – despite the heading to do so – for *why* people remember, imagine and engage with the past in the present. When Urry (1996: 48) remarked that “... *the past is endlessly constructed in and through the present*”, he was not commenting upon that quirk of time that quickly transforms the present into past with every second that passes. Rather, as I understand it, he is suggesting that the past is remade in the present. It is not a case of time dragging the present into the past, but people incorporating the past into the present, purposefully. This sense of cultural process is lacking in the above definitions, which are left cold in terms of the range of practices that people undertake in ‘doing’ heritage.

By the end of WG1’s discussion period, a very broad definition of the historic environment had been put forward:



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*... all the physical and intangible remains of the past that people can see, understand, feel or remember in the present world ... (English Heritage 2000k: 1).*

This definition was changed by the time it went to print, emerging in the *Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment* as:

*The historic environment is all the physical evidence for past human activity, and its associations, that people can see, understand and feel in the present world (English Heritage 2000n: 5).*

Likewise:

*The other Working Groups have moved away from the idea of 'heritage' to the wider idea of the historic environment, which encompasses all of the physical remains of the past (English Heritage 2000q: 5).*

The confusing terminology of 'tangible remains' has been removed, reduced to 'physical evidence'. While this is slightly more straightforward in terms of clarity, it carries the assumption that associations, feelings and understandings are intimately tied up with this 'physical evidence'. It is based on the existential assumption that heritage is tangible, although, as the additive clause 'and its associations' points out, there are intangible elements to this tangibility. However, the accumulation of the definition holds at its core 'materiality', around which these other activities (seeing, understanding, feeling and associating) revolve. The core of 'physical and intangible', as set up in the first statement, is reconfigured to include only the physical, with intangibles pushed out so that they become understood only in the sense of elaborative relationships.

While this review was demonstrably led by influences developing outside of the heritage sector by New Labour's social exclusion agenda, only a relatively small amount of discussion questioned the validity of this platform for the historic environment. The most explicit questioning arose in response to the first draft document produced by Working Group 1:

*By pandering to the vague and hapless utopias of harmonised communities embedded in the agendas of Romantic Socialism, we spread our net too wide and make our projects vanish into an ever-broadening miasma of shifting horizons and untenable definitions ... What this document looks like is a head-over-heels attempt to fall in with the government's agenda and operationalise a set of fundamental concepts which have, in fact, already been decided (Austin 2000: 1).*

This project of inclusivity was more implicitly raised in later discussions within Working Group 4, who recommended that:

*Inclusiveness was important but it needed to be realised that the more lay people became involved, the more issues that were important or features which were valuable to them needed to be catered for (English Heritage 2000l: 4).*

Indeed, inclusiveness, it was noted, could “... *become obtrusive*” (English Heritage 2000l: 4). This draws back to earlier discussions that raised the issue of hidden power, and reflect my assumption that the pervasiveness of the term ‘historic environment’, in tandem with the emergence of a serious agenda to combat social inclusion, is no coincidence, and has quite a bit to do with an implicit struggle for control over ‘heritage’ and the corporate identity of a number of prominent heritage institutions. The following extract, for example, makes this argument clearer:

*Consider how people can engage with the historic environment, not how the heritage industry can attract and engage with more people through marketing ... (English Heritage 2000j: 4).*

The choice of words used in this statement is telling, particularly the occurrence of both ‘historic environment’ and ‘heritage’ within the statement, and the roles they mediate in terms of inclusivity. Earlier, the difference between these two notions was explained with reference to the spectrum of objectivity/subjectivity, with the former occupying the neutral end of that spectrum and the latter the emotional end. In a similar vein, it was noted that ‘inclusivity’ brought with it a subjectivity that was both difficult and potentially unwieldy. Here, then, we have a statement that explicitly attempts to funnel people away from the subjectivity of heritage towards the assumed neutrality – and adjacent ease – of the historic environment, in a manner that effectively disguises the issues of power and perceived lack of control assumed to come with heritage and inclusion. Indeed, the more obvious examples of power, for example those tied up with class issues, were similarly dismissed and/or downplayed in interviews as problems of perception:

*... [there are] perceptual barriers – ‘heritage is not for me, you are not covering my heritage’, because of what you are using and because of the stories you tell within those buildings ... it is the story of an elite, it is the story of a white, upper-class elite, and that is irrelevant to most of us in many ways ... So, ‘that is not heritage that we understand as part of our culture so why would we come to visit you in your stately home’. But it is, so there is the perceptual barrier (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005, emphasis in interview).*



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For this interviewee, it simply boils down to the fact that the relevance of the dominant idea of heritage has not yet been recognised beyond a particular social group.

*Our Questions for You: The Second Consultation*

In between consultation phases one and two, five Working Groups were given the task of pulling together discussion papers around a number of themes. These discussion papers were then put out to public consultation, and were entitled *Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment: We Want Your Viewpoint* (English Heritage 2000t), and consisted of six individual pamphlets: *Our Questions for You* (English Heritage 2000m), *Understanding* (English Heritage 2000n), *Belonging* (English Heritage 2000u), *Experiencing* (English Heritage 2000o), *Caring* (English Heritage 2000p) and *Enriching* (English Heritage 2000q). In these documents, the desire to distinguish 'heritage' from the 'historic environment' is still evident, and previous discussions of the two concepts are briefly rehearsed in the introductory paper, *Our Questions for You*:

*The historic environment is not the same as heritage, although some of the historic environment undoubtedly forms part of the heritage ... Some parts of the historic environment, such as World Heritage Sites, are of such value that their conservation and management are matters of international concern; there are others which few would consider worth preserving. This is where the idea of heritage comes in. We use the word 'heritage' to mean those things inherited from the past that people wish to pass on to the future (English Heritage 2000m: 6).*

Here, heritage again denotes 'worthiness', as previous discussions suggested. Once again, there is an implicit sense of expertise and possession radiating from the use of the pronoun 'we', and a reiteration of a kind of transformative power to move 'historic environment' into 'heritage' through the combination of worthiness and expertise. Interesting, also, is the primacy put upon the notion of inheritance and patrimony as a point of distinction between the two concepts. Indeed, the last sentence in the above statement is quite explicitly mediated by any nuance of the AHD and its core assumptions (see Chapter 4), and draws once again on an acute sense of reverence and perpetuity. This idea of patrimony only works to reinforce the idea of expertise, and ensures that the transformative power of the expert is shackled not only to the process, but to the end product of heritage itself. Following from this, heritage becomes those *material* aspects of the historic environment that particular experts have deemed worthy of conserving for future generations. This idea was reflected in both interview material and policy documentation:



*In terms of the historic environment within the statutory framework, the aims and objectives are to safeguard and protect the historic environment for future generations ... Philosophically, I think the aim is to sustain heritage assets so as to enjoy them, but also ensure they reach future generations in a condition that they can enjoy them in too (Interviewee Four, the Heritage Lottery Fund, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2006).*

*It [the historic environment] has a crucial role to play in shaping the future, contributing to our sense of cultural identity, and reinforcing a sense of place and local and regional identities. Underlying all this is the belief that a well-understood, well-protected, publicly-appreciated and sensibly-used historic environment is central to a healthy and prosperous modern society (English Heritage 2000n: 6).*

Both of these statements reinforce the sense of ‘heritage’ at the heart of two of the factors in Chapter 4 (Factors One and Two ‘A’), which are driven by a sense of duty to the past predicated around the conservation ethos ‘conserve as found’, along with an orientation towards a nebulous and overarching ‘community’. What is striking here is not so much the similarities that are seen across the textual analysis and Factors One and Two ‘A’, by the almost entire absence of any textual occurrence of Factors Two ‘B’ and Four, the critical reactions *to* the AHD. Instead, policy seems to be entirely mediated by Factor One. It is still the AHD to be sure, but it is less of the stereotypical characterisation drawn upon by Smith in its attempts to embrace a truncated version of social inclusion. The above quotes also make an interesting contribution to discussions concerned with the construction of a national community and expressions of national identity, as does the following interview statement:

*I think English Heritage’s real responsibility is to devote what resources it can to the care and understanding of the historic environment to make its management better, to increase access to it and to pass it on to future generations better than we found it ... (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005).*

The value judgements that radiate from the above statement express notions of ‘doing things better’. The idea I am developing here relies on a variety of scholars who have theorised around concepts of identity, although not all explicitly in terms of heritage, and their work has considerable import here. In particular, I am drawing on the work of Macdonald (2003), which deals with identity work in relation to the nation, museums and the public. Here, Macdonald (2003: 3) develops the argument that “Just ‘having a museum’ was itself a performative utterance of having an identity, and this formula was ‘pirated’ or replicated at other levels of local governance ...”. With a close borrowing of Macdonald’s work, I want to construct the idea that having ‘the historic environment’ is likewise ‘a performative utterance of having an identity’, and



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in this case, according to the above statement, specifically a cultural identity. In the above, cultural identity is paratactically related to regional and local identity, in that 'cultural' is coordinated by the additional identities of 'regional' and 'local' – the latter exist as part of a collective of identities, but are not reducible to that 'cultural identity'. As such, this cultural identity is assumed to operate at the level of the nation, an idea reinforced with the addition of the preceding sentence, which discusses 'modern society', again operating at the national level. Taken as a whole, then, the above excerpts have interesting things to reveal about the particular shaping of identity being rehearsed and performed. This identity is based upon the qualities of 'well-understood', 'well-protected', 'publicly-appreciated' and 'sensibly-used', which combine to create a 'better managed' historic environment. This statement finds synergy with the ideas of preservation and Englishness developed by Schwyzer (1999: 58), who remarks that: *"Today, it is upkeep itself, not what is being kept up, that expresses the spirit of the nation"*. While Schwyzer is referring specifically to the scouring of a White Horse on an Oxfordshire hillside, the point he is making certainly carries relevance:

*... what makes the heritage specifically English is not the origin of the objects in question, but the way they are preserved for present and future generations by conscientious scouring (Schwyzer 1999: 58).*

This sentiment was implicitly present in recent parliamentary debates concerning Stonehenge, which raised the following statement:

*Thirteen years ago it was described as a national disgrace. If anything, it is worse now. We have the chance to address the problem and the sooner we put it right the better. It would end a shameful period for our country (Hansard House of Commons Debates 25<sup>th</sup> January 2007 c535WH [Mr John Whittingdale, Heritage]).*

It is Englishness, personified, the ability to effectively and conscientiously protect and preserve the past, and foster a desire to continue that act, or performance, of a very sterile sense of preservation. This idea was reinforced by Interviewee One, who remarked:

*Look at Pontefract Castle. They stripped it all away, they had rose gardens, they had the lot and in many ways they were actually looking at what was English, at what the Office of Public Works had done to guardianship monuments ... they stripped back to what they thought was the epitome of the monument. And then that filtered into the wider world, and you had this process of stripping back monuments ... so what you effectively have is that heritage was stripped away from*

*people ... Sterile Pontefract (Interviewee One, English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2005).*

In research on country house visiting in England, Smith (2006: 136, emphasis in original) identifies a similar sense of Englishness as tied to conservation: “*Here the Country House, and more specifically its conservation, was something that set England apart and defined its identity.*” This idea is exemplified further in *Viewpoint: Experiencing*, which begins with the assertion that:

*We could claim that:*

*tourism in the historic environment should be built upon the achievement of world-class standards in the promotion, interpretation, accessibility, management and sustainable care of the historic environment for the benefit of everyone living in and visiting England (English Heritage 2000a: 5).*

This conceptualisation of ‘tourism in the historic environment’ is *entirely* built around the *act* of preservation and interpretation, as it is that act itself that is regarded as English heritage, or “... *historically transcendent Englishness*” (Schwyzer 1999: 58). It is in some ways reminiscent of Wright’s (1985) mythologised ‘Deep England’ (see Chapter 2), revolving around idealised and romantic landscapes that are ordered, managed and bucolic (Baxendale 2001). National identity thus becomes explicitly harnessed to the ability of organisations, tourist site operators and members of the general public to efficiently communicate preservation *par excellence* to their visitors, audiences and users. The relationship almost becomes circular: particular objects, sites and places are selectively presented and ostentatiously preserved to world-class standards as ‘heritage’, while at the same time, that very act of preservation – again, to world-class standards – itself *creates* ‘heritage’ and a distinct sense of Englishness.

The fifth document in the suite of papers utilised in the second consultation process creates the clearest and most concrete link between social inclusion and heritage, and reflects upon the issues raised by government at the start of the overall review process:

*Are there opportunities for further enhancing the role of historic buildings and areas as a stimulus for urban and rural regeneration? Can the heritage be integrated more closely into the regeneration process ... Can heritage conservation work – applied in a consistent way across the country – take a lead in stimulating wider regeneration? (English Heritage 2000q: 7).*



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What has occurred in response to this challenge is twofold: first, there has been a tightening of the selective tradition identified in the previous chapters; and, second, in conjunction with this, there has been an attempt to extend the ‘readership’ of the historic environment to a wider audience. A continued use of ‘the heritage’ makes discursive suggestions about the definitive idea of ‘heritage’ underpinning these statements. Indeed, it presupposes that there is *a* ‘heritage’, rather than multiple heritages. ‘Heritage’, as understood through that singular and consensual view, is the notion that needs to be peddled to wider audiences:

*If we are to argue that the conservation of the historic environment brings social benefits, then it is **important to demonstrate** that benefits accrue to as many people as possible (English Heritage 2000q: 8, emphasis added).*

*77% of people polled by Mori recently did not identify the heritage as ‘who we are/part of our identity’. Clearly, more **work needs to be done to demonstrate** that the historic environment provides a **universal social benefit** (English Heritage 2000q: 8, emphasis added).*

*If we are to pass on to future generations what we value, we will need to **recognise that the historic environment is relevant to us all** (English Heritage 2000q: 17, emphasis added).*

There is something implicitly patronising about these quotes, which again is suggestive that heritage users are passive and uncritical in their engagements with heritage. This condescension – indeed something approaching racism – was revealed in interview as well:

*They [Muslims] can tell us quite a lot which we otherwise aren’t going to find out, and they **then** become interested and many of them are more interested than one might think ... it is actually quite startling how they are ... actually quite integrated in ways that we at first quite often don’t see (Interviewee Three, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> May 2005).*

The content of ‘the historic environment’ has already been validated, and this now seems more or less beyond reproach. What remains to be done, in terms of the government’s agenda, is to piece together the strategies that will enable the *demonstration* and *recognition* of the relevance of the historic environment. This is not an approach that has met with blanket acceptance within the organisations under discussion. Indeed, it would be both unfair and incorrect to suggest that this ‘way of seeing’ was consensual, as Interviewees Thirteen and Fourteen note respectively:

*I am very worried about the discussions of relevance and I think it is a very patronising notion in some ways, that disadvantaged groups or socially excluded*

*groups can't actually appreciate mainstream or high culture (English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

*... one of the things that I have always held is that if you get a lot of the historic environment specialists standing around they always talk about how they can make what they do relevant, and actually it is the wrong way round. If you just take what you do and try to add on a social inclusion dimension and make it relevant, you will fail (English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005).*

It is worth noting, perhaps cynically, that one motivation behind this move towards inclusion is monetary or funding-driven:

*... every meeting I go to people are very, very aware that if you are going to get funding, if you want public funding, if you want to do any work you have to think about who your audience is and how you are going to get people interested (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

One question in particular arises out of this relationship between funding and social inclusion, and that is: What happens to social inclusion once governmental funding stops? Without a conceptual shift in what is meant by the term 'heritage', the cessation of funding for inclusion projects designed within the framework of an exclusionary discourse will be devastating for long-term projects of inclusion.

The two-pronged manoeuvre that resonates in this final paper, *Enriching* (itself an interesting title), is justified and legitimised through quite explicit forms of moral evaluation, or moralisation. Particularly interesting is the second quote in the trio offered above. Here, there is an interweaving of moralisation and rationalisation, with both types of legitimisation strongly foregrounded in the quote. This combination evokes, and appeals to, a value system that appears universal, assured and self-justified. Conditional semantic relations tie these extracts together and, through this analytical category, counterbalance the need to achieve social inclusion with the desire to attract, recruit or assimilate more people into existing heritage conceptualisations. Indeed, this conditional construction makes it appear that the 77% of people unable to identify with heritage are at a moral disadvantage, and need to be encouraged to take their place alongside the 23% of people who can identify. This is a distorted reaction to Hall's (1999: 44) remark that "... [t]he *National Heritage* is a powerful source of such meaning. It follows that those who cannot see themselves reflected in its mirror cannot properly belong", which is impeded by its placement of emphasis not on the mirror itself, but on the ways people attempt to look into that mirror.



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At this point, I would like to reflect on earlier discussions, and pull in a number of concepts that make greater analytical contributions when taken together than they do in isolation. These concepts include ‘the idea of the nation’, ‘selective traditions’, ‘transformative power of worthiness’ and ‘the cultural significance [note the singular] of ‘things’. All of these concepts are transfixed by an implicit need to draw upon the role of expertise in order to confer authority, and rest upon a presumption of material facticity. Moreover, it is only when inspected in relation to each other that the insipid nature of the power relations maintaining this cultural logic becomes apparent. In arguing that heritage is discursively constructed, it is inevitable that the gaze of this thesis will fall on the *actual* work undertaken by the construction of heritage that has come to dominate. Here, the concept of ‘inalienable possessions’ as developed by Weiner (1992) and Lahn (1996), while bringing an additional layer of complexity to the discussion, offers a useful reminder of the underlying specifics of that cultural logic. Three of the above concepts demonstrate this logic immediately: the existence of a selective tradition that infers and anchors the cultural significance of ‘things’ specifically at the level of the nation. Operating in and around this is the inflection of power that allows a select few to clip, shape, define and label this collective idea of heritage, and make it *matter*, and moreover, make it matter in terms of *possession* through the transformative power of worthiness. Arbitrating between the historic environment and heritage and holding the power to make one shift and turn into the other, or at least *saying* that that is the case, significantly boosts the power held by ‘experts’ and heritage institutions. This is because the ‘peopleless’ heritage constructed in the 1970s remains people-less for the majority of the management process. Indeed, it remains people-less until it is already transformed into heritage – only then is it possible for people to enter the process and ascribe meaning.

This overview extends to find synergy with Weiner’s (1992) notion of ‘keeping-while-giving’, also explored by Lahn (1996), although I want to shape this notion a little further here, and develop it at a more conceptual level. What I want to suggest is that this very careful structuring of heritage is itself an inalienable possession, and thus subject to the intricacies of keeping-while-giving, an idea that is particularly visible within the context of social inclusion. Heritage and the management process have traditionally been withheld from the public, certainly in a productive sense and to some degree in a consumptive sense. In this sense, both have been defended by appeals to objectivity, rationality and universality (Smith 2004; 2006), re-imagined as

subjective, embodied and experienced only through the mediation of expertise. Moreover, as Weiner (1992: 10) points out, “... *[t]he person or group that controls (and thus defines) the movement and meaning of such objects inherits an authority and a power over others*”. In this regard, the hidden powers I have discussed at various points throughout this chapter gain greater clarity with the addition of Weiner’s theorisation. When the Cultural Secretary, Tessa Jowell, stated in 2001 “... *more needs to be done. For example, we need to find new ways of involving people and communities who may feel the historic environment has no relevance to them*”, was this drive towards social inclusion simply a re-imagination of Weiner’s keeping-while-giving?

This section has outlined the conceptual distinction made between ‘the historic environment’ and ‘heritage’, and has argued that this move is orchestrated around a hidden agenda that has more to do with power and ideology than it does with the definitions themselves. In a bid to move away from the contestation, conflict and dissonance recognised as emanating from the world of ‘heritage’, attempts are being made to re-package or rebrand ‘heritage’ as the more objective and stable ‘historic environment. Tied up with this is the unchallenged and ineffable identity this confers to those considered capable of understanding and sustaining the above distinction. Indeed, those with such capabilities are left to navigate – for the rest of the general public – the process of plucking something from the realm of the ‘historic environment’ as *worthy*, and safely presenting those artefacts, sites and places to the rest of us. This negotiation has a powerful role to play in the operationalisation of any social inclusion discourse within the field of heritage management. As such, the following section will explore this operationalisation within three heritage documents: *Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment*, *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future and People* and *People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for the Built and Historic Environment*.

### ACCOUNTING FOR THE POWER OF PLACE

*If the barriers to involvement can be overcome, the historic environment has the potential to strengthen the sense of community and provide a solid basis for neighbourhood renewal.  
This is the power of place. (English Heritage 2000r: 23)*

*Power of Place: The Future of the Historic Environment* is an important product of the consultation process reviewed in the preceding sections of this chapter, as is also *The Historic Environment: A Force for our Future and People and Places: Social Inclusion Policy for*



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*the Built and Historic Environment* (Cumberpatch 2001). All three policy documents examined in this section share in common a similar timeframe and impetus for their germination. The first of these documents was the culmination of over 200 letters from the first consultation, 630 responses to the second consultation, and the deliberations of over 180 'experts', all of which were supplemented by a commissioned MORI poll (English Heritage 2000r). As such, the document was compiled and published by English Heritage, although "... *it is not an English Heritage report*" (English Heritage 2000r: 1). The second publication resulting from this process, commonly referred to as *A Force for our Future*, is the government's "... *vision of the historic environment*" (Department for Communities and Local Government 2004: 1), and is a continuation of the consultation process commenced in *Power of Place*. Finally, the third document, *People and Places*, developed as an offshoot of *A Force for our Future*, and provides a more closely developed overview of Section Four (entitled *Including and Involving People*) of the DCMS (2001a) document. These documents were highlighted as key 'heritage' policy documents by a number of interviewees:

*The government's policy is set out in a document called A Force for our Future (Interviewee Ten, English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

*The overarching policy framework ... is the Power of Place and Force for our Future (Interviewee Eleven, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

*Well, English Heritage has produced the definition of Historic Environment, you know, in Power of Place, um, it works for us (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005)*

This collection of policy documents arose as a direct response to the arrival of discourses of social inclusion. As such, they present an opportunity to examine the discursive efforts of these discourses to subtly influence, alter and diffuse a new sense of 'heritage'. The discussion, therefore, focuses upon the movement from 'recontextualisation' to 'operationalisation', in which a fusing of discourses takes place "... *leading potentially to the diffusion of a new hegemonic discourse across social fields and scales*" (Fairclough 2005a: 41). This is followed by the enactment of "... *new ways of acting and interacting*", the inculcation of "... *new ways of being (forms of identity)*" and the materialisation of "... *new 'hardware' (architecture, machinery, technologies, etc)*" (see Fairclough 2005a: 41). The consultation process provided an occasion within which the discourses of social inclusion could scale structural boundaries, and pass from government into the heritage sector. In much the same vein, the production of *Power*

*of Place* and *A Force for our Future* represent the initial stages of the enactment of these discourses within that sector. The analysis of these policy documents is supplemented with material gathered from interviews, which allow for a closer inspection of these discursive changes against real social change. In short, we are once again tracking the relationships between rhetoric and reality.

I would like to note at the beginning of the analysis the fairly hopeful statement, extracted from *Force for our Future*, that sets down the belief that this process *may* (and the modality attached to this word is important here) lead to a reconsideration of the concept ‘heritage’:

*Developing these issues within the heritage sector may also lead to reconsidering what we mean by ‘heritage’ in terms of whose past is being represented (DCMS 2001a: 15).*

I do not want to look in detail at this statement for the moment, and will defer a detailed examination until later in the chapter.

Examining these documents, the following statement was used to define the ‘historic environment’, and here the negotiations undertaken in the review process have ensured that ‘the historic environment’ is the term of choice, something also noted in the majority of interviews (see Chapter 7).

*The past is all around us. We live our lives, whether consciously or not, against a backdrop formed by historic buildings, landscapes and other physical survivals of our past. But the historic environment is more than just a matter of physical remains. It is central to how we see ourselves and to our identity as individuals, communities and as a nation (DCMS 2001a: 7).*

*The historic environment is what generations of people have made of the places in which they live. It is all about us. We are the trustees of that inheritance. It is, in every sense, a common wealth (English Heritage 2000r: 4).*

The definite reference ‘is’, while still a marker of an existential assumption and epistemic modality, loses leverage in the above statements because of its commitment to a very broad – and vague – notion of something that “... *is all about us*” and “*all around us*”. While the first statement draws attention to the primacy of physical surroundings, it also makes concessions towards more ephemeral notions. In doing so, the ‘historic environment’ at first glance appears to lose the safeness gathered around the term in the consultation discussions, and becomes a much more tenuous ‘everything’. In this instance, the careful cultivation of a term designed to



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possess objectivity, harmony and distance from the emotional content of ‘heritage’ collapses. Thus, a process designed to challenge past perceptions of heritage has resulted in an open-ended understanding of what might constitute the ‘historic environment’. This, in itself, is not necessarily a problem. Indeed, heritage as a process is implicitly drawn upon here (“... *what generations of people have made of the places in which they live*”), but I am interested in ascertaining whether this notion is fleeting or not, and is thus a point I will refer back to later. It is possible, for example, that the desire to include ‘everything’ is indicative that ‘heritage’ is no longer the central focus of discussions – if it was, it would not be opened up to everything. This makes reference to Factor Three, as developed in Chapter 4, and notions that ‘heritage’ might in fact be a means to some other kind of end.

What has remained intact through the consultation process, however, is the very dominant idea that ‘the past’ is inherited and held in trust for future generations. As we are reminded in *A Force for our Future* (see also DCMS 2007: 2):

*The task: to protect and sustain the historic environment for the benefit of our own and future generations (DCMS 2001a: 33).*

This notion of patrimony has a pervasive hold, becoming something akin to fetishism in which it is the ‘duty of care’ that is sought after and revered as a source of identity. Again, it is worth remembering that *this* is the central and core assumption of any nuance of the AHD. As Choay (2001: 165) remarks, it is “... *[a]s if an image of human identity could be constructed by the accumulation of all these accomplishments, all these traces.*” Tied up with the notion of patrimony are the inevitable notions of hierarchy and ranking – if there is an accepted duty of care, alongside the acknowledgement that we do not have the resources to care for everything, then only some things will be selected: and those things will be ‘the best’. The ‘everything’ included in earlier discussions has already evaporated:

*The historic environment is as fragile as it is precious. It is not renewable. If we fail to protect and sustain it we risk losing permanently not just the fabric itself, but the history of which it is a visible expression ... the best of our past (DCMS 2001a: 33).*

*Keeping the best from the past provides a powerful justification for gracing our surroundings with the very best of the new (English Heritage 2000r: 4).*

In a process in which only ‘the best’ is imagined, perhaps the most essential elements involved will be the machinery that ranks and selects the ‘best’ and those operators with the knowledge and expertise to manage the machinery. Who, in these statements, is doing the *keeping*? Who is the ‘we’ acting to *protect* and *sustain*? Who dominates the value systems that work to legitimise the entire – and seemingly inevitable – process? The notions ‘fragile’, ‘precious’ and ‘non-renewable’, hark back to wider social debates regarding the state of the fragile earth (see Chapter 5), have played an important role in maintaining this particular value system. Both assumptions of patrimony and the fragility of ‘the past’ belong to the authorised heritage discourse characterised within this thesis, which was fleshed out in Chapter 4 through the interpretive methodology of Q. What is interesting is that tenacity with which these assumptions continue to cling to overall ideas of heritage as sites, monuments and buildings, and permeate new framings of the historic environment. The same themes relevant for Factors One and Two ‘A’ are salient here.

*England’s historic environment is one of our greatest national resources. From prehistoric monuments to great country houses, from medieval churches to the towns of the Industrial Revolution, it is a uniquely rich and precious inheritance (Jowell and Byers 2001: 4).*

Jowell and Byers (2001: 4), cited above, lend credence to the existence of the value system I am constructing here, particularly in terms of its salience with the AHD. In the two sentences authored by the Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport (Jowell) and the Secretary of State for Transport, Local Government and the Regions (Byers), a narrative that weaves nationalism, materiality and patrimony is revealed. It is an exemplary lexicalisation of the stereotypical AHD.

So far, it has been possible to comment briefly upon the texturing of social inclusion with heritage discourses by examining some implicit changes in the latter, but it is far more revealing to explore this articulation head on. To do so, it is necessary to examine those instances within which these discourses are more explicitly – and extensively – bound together. Quite what is meant by social inclusion across the heritage sector is difficult to assess, as the term is used in disparate ways. What is clear, however, is that the three documents under review in this section are commonly highlighted as the underpinning guides to the overall movement. Pendlebury *et al.* (2004: 20), in their review of social inclusion for built, cultural heritage, offer the following definition of social inclusion as something that:



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*... should occur through developing access and education, acknowledging cultural diversity and multiculturalism, through developing partnership and community involvement and changing the way heritage agencies work.*

This began with the utterance of the following statements from *Power of Place, A Force for our Future* and *People and Places* respectively:

*No-one should be excluded from benefiting from the historic environment (English Heritage 2000r: 28).*

*The task: to make the historic environment accessible to everyone and ensure that it is seen as something with which the whole of society can identify and engage (DCMS 2001a: 25).*

*Being cut off from key aspects of our culture is part of what drives social exclusion (DCMS 2002c: 3).*

These three documents are often pushed forward as the quintessential heritage documents dealing with social inclusion (Pendlebury *et al.* 2004; English Heritage 2003a: 5). The first of these represents the wholesale exportation of the notion that cultural capital can deliver social inclusion, allowing the ‘historic environment’ to project a therapeutic force (Allin and Selwood 2004: 2). In these statements, a somewhat patchy narrative is being woven, the warp and weft of which attempts to sew together contradictory notions of nationhood, exclusion, wellbeing and ‘the historic environment’. Essentially, this is because the above notions of social inclusion are being fused with the proposition that the historic environment is ‘safe’, ‘conflict-free’, ‘objective’ and ‘omnipresent’, something that quite naturally asserts these values universally. Yet, if this is the case, surely there is already inclusion? Moreover, if the historic environment is by its very nature inclusive, why do we need policies to make it so?

*The historic environment **should** be seen as something which all sections of the community can identify with and take pride in, rather than something valued only by narrow specialist interests (DCMS 2001a: 30, my emphasis).*

*The study of history is incomplete if it does not take into account the way the historic environment reflects the multi-cultural and many-layered development of England (English Heritage 2000r: 23).*

The above quotes go some way towards more honestly recognising the inequity caught up in the management process, although there still appears to be some hesitancy in acknowledging the contested nature of the past. This hesitancy is signalled by the use of the word should, which signals a weakened commitment to

the sentiment expressed. Indeed, as Interviewee One points out, this committee is not just weak, it is almost entirely absent from operations:

*What is really interesting is the new agenda of facilitating, enabling and advocacy ... I become a facilitator for the community to explore their heritage and an enabler to assist in the legitimisation of **their** points of view, of what **they** find significant and what **they** find valuable, and then, you know enable or facilitate a balance being struck. Whereas, in my colleagues, a lot of them, I have just said – What I have just said is heresy (English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004).*

The notion of social inclusion thus remains a difficult and uncomfortable concept for the AHD (in whatever guise) to accommodate, as it brings to the surface an assumption that it is not always safe or good. Indeed, it can be threatening to the identity of expertise. More than that, it can be excluding, and in that sense, cruel – a notion that does not sit well with the dominant understandings of heritage. What is surfacing here is an implicit recognition that social inclusion, as it stands, is assimilatory, rather than inclusive, as there is far less risk involved in that approach. The acceptance of values outside of expertise, or outside of a single-cultural and single-layered discourse of heritage is not yet possible. Instead, social inclusion, in this assimilatory guise, will continue to create and operate around the same exclusionary sense of ‘heritage’.

Although many of the messages emanating from the text of the documents appear contradictory, they do provide a very clear signal of the changes occurring in heritage policy, as are also noted by Interviewee Seven (English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005):

*... what drives policy (that sort of thing has accumulated over 150 years or so) is the notion that things are worth keeping because of their historic significance or importance. Um, but underlying, I suppose, some of the more recent policy developments is the notion that there is also a responsibility put upon government to promote access to these things – as much as possible and to as many different people as possible in society.*

These changes, quite obviously driven by platforms of social exclusion, are an essential element in this discussion, and are an ongoing objective of current policy initiatives. This is not so much a reflection of the ‘failure’ of social inclusion discourses, but a consequence of the continual struggle for hegemony within any situation. As such, arguments putting forward the ‘whys’, ‘whats’ and ‘hows’ of social inclusion are a constant and familiar feature of much heritage policy today. Implicit within these arguments are the telltale signs of a discourse at risk, and it is important



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to ascertain whether this 'risk' operates only at the level of rhetoric, or within practice as well. In short, are the propositional values of social inclusion restricted by the naturalisation of existential assumptions that regard 'heritage' as sites, monuments and buildings?

One of the primary drivers regarding social inclusion is the qualitative and quantitative data gathered from the MORI survey conducted as part of the *Power of Place* consultation process. It was this survey that highlighted – in a language decipherable by government and institution alike – the reality of the level of exclusion felt by a large proportion of the population:

*In the MORI survey, many people expressed interest in the heritage but nevertheless felt excluded from it ... Only a quarter of Black people said they had made a special trip to the countryside in the past year, and both Black and Asian people were less likely than White people to visit stately homes (English Heritage 2000r: 25).*

Particularly noteworthy in the above statement is the somewhat nonchalance with which the author remarks upon the disinterest of 'Black' and 'Asian' people in stately homes. Work by Smith (2006: 160–161) demonstrates the degree to which stately homes and country houses conform to the authorised heritage discourse, engendering feelings of social and cultural comfort and security, and negotiating a sense of social legitimacy of "... *what it means to be middle class*" – a white middle class. As such, it is hardly surprising that these symbols of a very particular idea of heritage work to exclude and alienate. What is surprising is their mention in the above quotation at all. What it demonstrates is the naturalisation of the AHD, which has been emptied out of all ideological content. The inequalities already tied up with the idea of 'the stately home' are completely missed through this process of naturalisation, so that the overall tenor of the statement seems to revolve around *why* black and asian people are not visiting this heritage. That this form of heritage, as the dominant idea of English heritage, might be exclusionary or irrelevant escapes the author of this document. Indeed, it does not appear to be a possibility that stately homes *might not* engender a sense of place, feelings of belonging or inclusion to those groups who are not incorporated within its image. If nothing else, it is a first glimpse of the way in which the social inclusion discourse is mixing with the existing heritage discourse, and a clue as to the eventual shape that the amalgamation will take, which skates considerably closer to assimilation than is often recognised. Premature though it may be in the context of this chapter, it can also be read as a

cautionary note that borrows from Hall (1999: 7), warning that the “... *process has so far stopped short of the frontier defined by that great unspoken British value – ‘whiteness’*”.

The problem-solution thus identified in the preceding statement above appears to revolve around the reluctance of non-white people to visit the type of heritage privileged by the AHD. These momentary revelations are sandwiched between far blander statements within *Power of Place*, an example of which is:

*Find out what people value about their historic environment and **take this into account** in assessing significance (Recommendation 9) (English Heritage 2000r: 47, my emphasis)*

While take this into account is a weak statement, it is only when reading the response documents produced by DCMS – *A Force for our Future* and *People and Places* – that a clearer sense of the weaknesses of inclusion agendas becomes apparent.

*... by learning about their own environment and how they can participate in its evolution, people feel a greater sense of belonging and engagement. On another level, preserving the fabric of the past requires knowledge and expertise (DCMS 2001a: 17).*

The elaboration offered by the second sentence in the above quote makes note, for the first time, of the delicate balance threatened by the unification of social inclusion discourses with any permutations of the AHD. Preserved within the final ten words of this utterance lies the authority of the AHD, promoting a certain sense of ‘preservation’, ‘fabric’ and ‘expertise’. The combined sentences also bring forth a purpose (to inspire belonging and engagement), which itself works to legitimise these notions of the AHD. In foregrounding this liberal and humanitarian purpose, the additive belief in expert knowledge is rationalised, legitimised and rendered ‘commonsense’. The argument that a sense of expertise has been surreptitiously woven into much of the social inclusion discourse is one I would like to focus on for the remainder of this chapter. In conjunction, I will also advance the argument that the AHD is under no great threat as a consequence of the adoption of the concept of ‘the historic environment’, and as such, the whole tenor of debate has tended to take up a particularly unhelpful assimilatory perspective.

The line of argument developed above, while not vociferous in the following, is present nonetheless. As before, while the problem-solution dynamic targets the historic environment itself, it sees the notion more as a solution than a problem from the outset:



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*Surveys such as the one conducted by MORI during the Power of Place consultation confirm that, while most people acknowledge the significance of the historic environment, there are none the less a substantial number who do not see it as having any relevance to them (DCMS 2001a: 25).*

As 'most people' do not see a problem with the historic environment, the solution is to encourage those who do take issue with its conceptualisation to change their mind. This is a moral evaluation based upon the actions of 'the majority'. In this statement, it appears that seeing relevance in the historic environment itself will produce benefits, while offering no real understanding of how it will do this, nor is a sense of the dynamic existing between people and heritage developed. The following extracts all share this theme in common, painting a picture of a dialogically closed relationship in which knowledge exchanges are predominantly one-way:

*The private and voluntary sectors have shown great flair in realising the potential of new technology as a means of disseminating local and community information (DCMS 2001a: 29).*

*This document shows how people can be more effectively engaged with the contemporary and historic built environment as a cultural and educational experience (DCMS 2002c: 4).*

*Visits to heritage sites can also help people to find out about diverse aspects of England's history, society and multicultural heritage and help people to understand how the past influences the present (DCMS 2002a: 12).*

This framing of social inclusion came out particularly strongly in interviews conducted with those working within heritage organisations, as in the following examples:

*... there is a responsibility on organisations like us to explain what it is about the historic environment that is of importance and significance. To be accountable for those decisions, and to make the opportunities that the HE presents as open to as many different people as possible (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*... think the policy mood is very specific to it [the social inclusion agenda of the Labour Government] ...it means explaining to all sorts of stakeholders what is significant and why we have protected a particular site or place (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

This was more critically evaluated in the following:

*... my feeling is, is that it was actually set up because there is a public service agreement that they want to get more people, ethnic people from ethnic minorities and disadvantaged communities, to go to heritage attractions and museums. That is a public service agreement with the Department for Culture,*

*Media and Sport. Ok. And this has rubbed up and defined as outreach (Interviewee One, English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2005).*

The advent of social inclusion has witnessed an extension of the paternal veneer of conservation so as to include a homogenous public, who are themselves tightly packaged into the act of conservation. In much the same way as conservators and heritage managers tend to the physical remains of the past, they now extend their responsibilities towards mentoring, mediating and managing the ways in which the past intersects with that 'public'. The lines of 'us' and 'them' are firmly drawn, with the 'us' carefully and snugly slotting the 'them' in amongst the sites, monuments and buildings that make up the historic environment. Admittedly, this adds a layer of complexity to the narration of heritage favoured by the AHD, but it is a layer easily soothed by the notions of expertise. It is further assuaged with the melding of marketing language to the discourses of inclusion:

*There is an institutional driver for a lot of current government policy, which is around making organisations like us more responsive to the **needs of our customers**, more accountable, and so on (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*They [the government] have set a target, um, for us to increase among our visitors the diversity of the social profile of **our audiences**. And so we need to find ways of meeting that target and that will, I think, involve sort of **marketing initiatives** ... (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*It [social inclusion] means that we need to think more carefully about, um, **making the assets** that we have pretty much available to everyone (Interviewee Ten, English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

The language employed by the interviewee's quotes above further delineates the assumed differences between 'them' and 'us', indeed, it constructs for both groups – and the subject binding them together – different names and relationships. With the injection of this new language, germane to the world of marketing, all three players ('them', 'us' and the 'historic environment') are re-housed and re-legitimised. 'Our assets', 'our customers' and 'our audiences' are rearticulated so as to share the same discursive positioning, which is diametrically opposite, as is always the case, to its binary other, in this case 'our'. The performative utterance of identity discussed earlier takes up a sharper focus here, in an instance within which we realise whose performance it really is. This is not, as earlier assumed, necessarily a performance confined to that of national identity, but is one also designed to establish and sustain the corporate identity of the heritage sector as a whole. The separation of 'the expert'



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and ‘the public’ is no longer a simple line in the sand, but a rigid and naturalised relationship that is operationalised through the language of interviewees.

The hybridisation of social inclusion and heritage discourses is a complex one, which draws in promotional genres alongside genres of governance (Fairclough 2003: 33), recontextualising ‘heritage’ as a product, resource or commodity to be branded, rebranded and sold. As Fairclough (2003: 33) points out, this is reflective of the wider colonisation of social life by markets, and does not characterise the heritage sector alone. The historic environment, defined by the AHD as physical objects or a ‘thing’, falls naturally within what Kopytoff (1986: 64) has labelled the “... *natural universe of commodities*”, and both are instrumental to the current biographical shaping of heritage. Through this pairing, heritage becomes a transactional object with social inclusion acting as its counterpart: both are structured into the exchange between ‘customer’ and ‘owner’. While at first this implicit commoditisation of ‘heritage’ and social inclusion may seem contradictory (if we are to imagine that appealing for inclusion renders the commodity redundant), it must be remembered that the exchange travels beyond simply heritage organisations. The PSA targets, raised earlier in this chapter, provide the monetary power to drive the exchange. For example:

*I mean, clearly we are funded by government and therefore we have to meet the requirements of the funding agreement, which, say, that for the £100,000,000,000 or whatever we get from the DCMS every year we will deliver x, y and z ... (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*What the targets [PSA targets] say is that up to 2003–2006, we are to engage an additional 100,000 people from black and ethnic minorities, C2, D and E social classes and get them into historic properties by 2006. 100,000 new audiences (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

The entire process is depersonalised into a set of numerical social classes, figures and monetary amounts. This level of abstraction has ‘heritage’ re-packaged as things, alongside (and here we have the discursive subject positionings reinforced) people, who similarly become things, or numbers, divorced from the more embodied encounters with heritage discussed in Chapter 2. As Interviewee Seven (English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005) remarks:

*DCMS’s policies are very much built around participation, so actually visiting heritage sites, which is perhaps, you know, a worthwhile way of looking at these issues. You can count it. You can count it so therefore it counts. Exactly what these measures measure, and what is measured counts ...*

In this statement, people undergo a very significant degree of nominalisation in which their activities and experiences are categorised within the nominal group ‘participation’. Again, this is process of “... *turning activities into things*” (Martin 2003: 28), so much so that the memory-work, performativity and acts of remembrance identified by Smith (2006) as central to the heritage process are redrawn simply as visitor numbers. Semantically, we know that participation *refers* to a lot more than simply crossing the threshold of a site, property or building (see Emerick 2004), but it has somehow become what Martin (2003: 30) refers to as a ‘grammatical metaphor’ for something else – something that is far less demanding.

While English Heritage and the Department for Culture, Media and Sport have imbued these policy documents with a fundamentally different language to that characterising the 1970s and 1980s (see Chapter 5), the dominance of the AHD has meant that the colonisation process has resulted in something akin to assimilation:

*Interviewer: It strikes me that there are two tasks and one is to market what you have already got, so that new ‘audiences’ are ‘achieved’, but at the same time, shouldn’t you be trying to develop a new understanding of what it is you actually do, what heritage is?*

*Interviewee: Those are two very different tasks and the organisation is really only going to do the former. They will only really worry about the former (Interviewee Seventeen, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

Ultimately, the assumption on offer from this exchange is that a particular notion of heritage has been naturalised and accepted as common sense. As such, the impulse behind social inclusion becomes entirely about encouraging ‘others’ to accept, enjoy and, fundamentally, *visit* that particular notion of heritage. In this framing, the notion of ‘exclusion’ is truncated and soothed to the point that it is lost, and the activities assumed to animate the act of exclusion are removed. Instead, ‘exclusion’ more or less appears synonymous with ‘lack of education’ or ‘lack of knowledge’, and the barriers of exclusion are seen to lie entirely with the individual. This resistance of the notion ‘exclusion’ was also raised in interview:

*... nowadays people talk more about diversity than social inclusion, because that suggests that there has been ‘exclusion’, which has not been particularly helpful (Interviewee Six, Council for British Archaeology, 8<sup>th</sup> June 2005).*

At this point, I would like to draw attention back to the statement I presented at the beginning of this section, which highlighted the possibility that ‘heritage’ *may* be reconceptualised as part of this process. This statement remarked:



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*Developing these issues within the heritage sector may also lead to reconsidering what we mean by 'heritage' in terms of whose past is being represented (DCMS 2002c: 15, my emphasis).*

I note, again, the modality attached to this statement, which signals a low level of truth and obligation to the sentiments expressed. *May*, as a very clear marker of modalisation, on this occasion identifies only a slight commitment to the cause: a commitment that has been overthrown by a more serious commitment to the AHD.

Lurking behind the blander language reserved for extolling the 'therapeutic' nature of heritage lays the firmer claims of the AHD: the nature of heritage itself. Despite the textual and social evidence that the AHD is indeed mutable over time, several core assumptions remain intact. This sees a more or less complete rehearsal of the themes and assumptions unearthed by the Q sort interpretations in Chapter 4 (particularly Factors One and Two 'A') and the analysis of the emergence of a heritage agenda in Chapter 5. As a reminder, the framing of heritage privileged by the AHD revolves around historically robust and aesthetically pleasing sites, monuments and buildings, conserved as universally significant for future generations. A series of consequences emergent from this framing of heritage have been explored throughout this thesis so far. With the advent of social inclusion discourses, one could be forgiven for assuming that this would bring about a re-theorisation of the very nature of heritage. This would be a bid not only to dismantle the notion that 'heritage' belongs to the white middle-classes, but to re-imagine the end product 'heritage' itself. However, far from stimulate fresh debate, social inclusion discourses have thus far seen, instead, a rather unpleasant and reactionary attempt to assimilate. The following extracts reveal the extent of the AHD's colonisation:

*We have a well developed framework for identifying and protecting the physical remains of our past. At its heart is the process of listing buildings of special architectural and historic interest, which has been in operation since the last 1940s and which has saved many of our finest buildings from unsympathetic alteration or destruction (DCMS 2001a: 33).*

*These physical structures are vital in defining a community, with a high quality well managed built environment essential for community cohesion. But in many of our poorest neighbourhoods, poor quality buildings and public spaces have contributed to decline (DCMS 2002c: 3).*

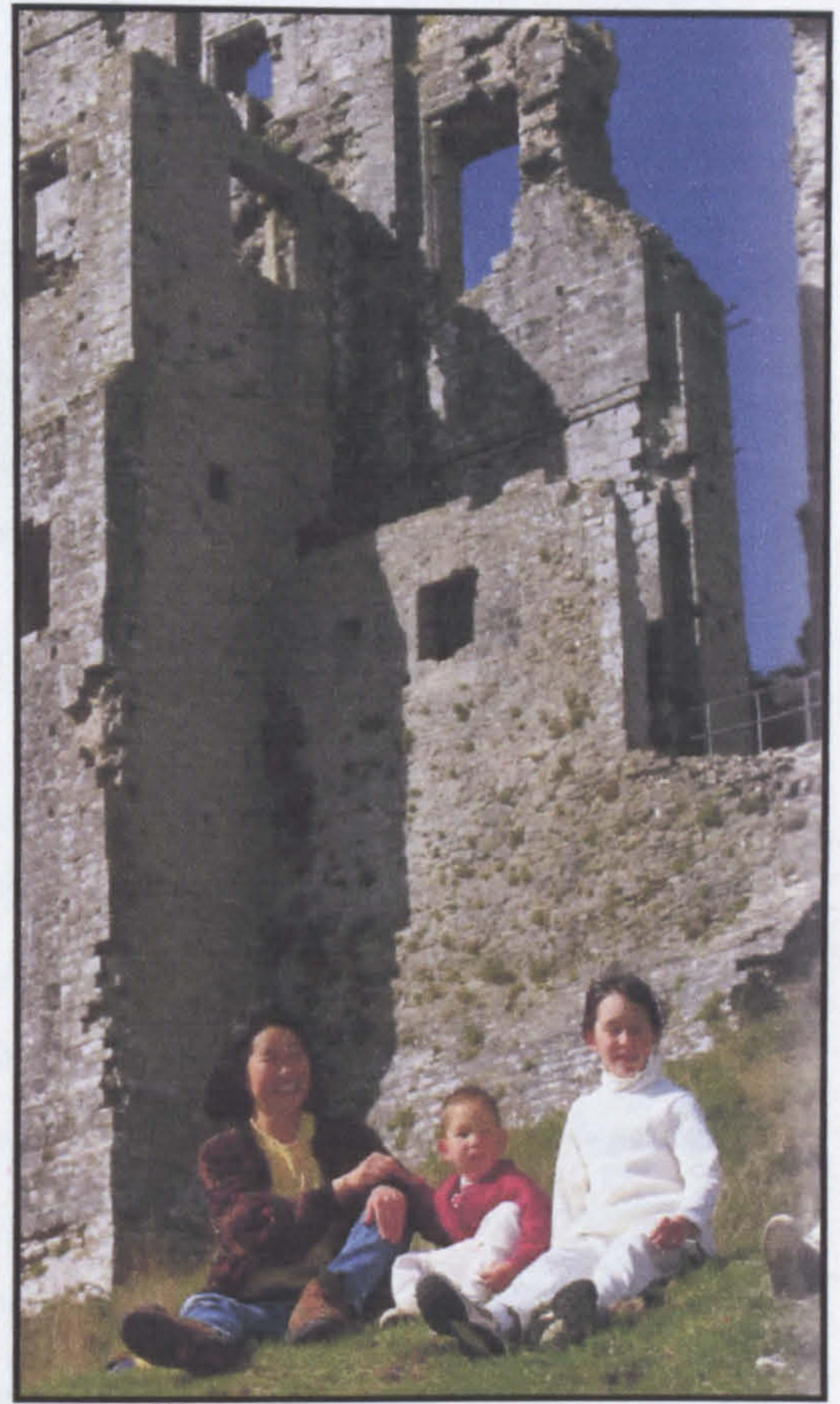
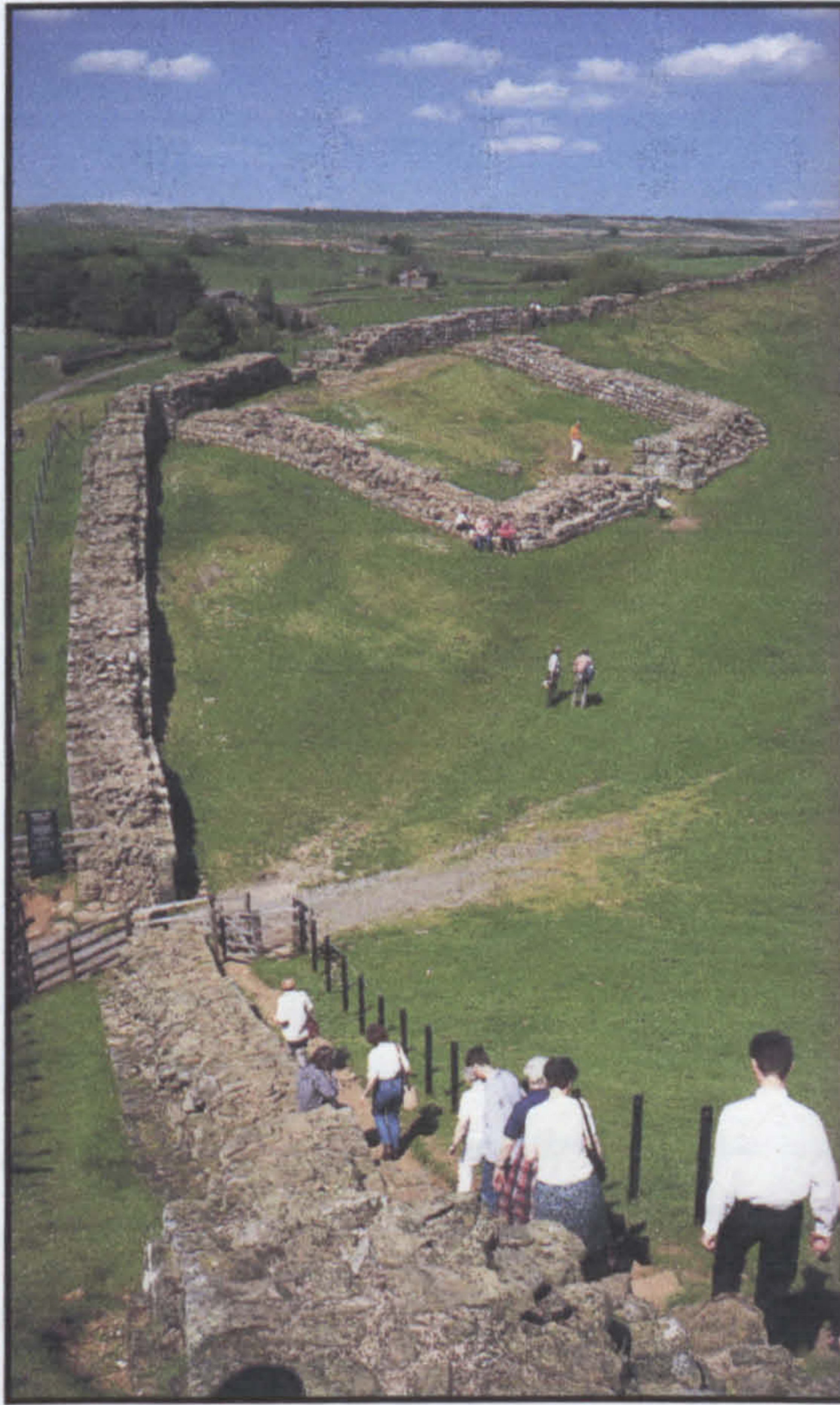
*The Government's aim of overcoming social exclusion will only be fully realised when our cities, towns and villages offer high quality environments to everyone (DCMS 2002c: 4).*

*The Visual Imagery of Heritage*

The textual analysis offered in this chapter has isolated linguistic instances of the AHD, both in terms of its core assumptions and its mutability across time and context. In particular, I have developed the argument that the injection of social inclusion has had important implications for the heritage sector, but these are perhaps not as useful as at first they might appear. Indeed, a continued ascription to the exclusionary dictates of the AHD leaves genuine social inclusion initiatives compromised and contradictory. The purpose of this section is to further explore the work of the AHD in terms of social inclusion through visual imagery, or *visual regimes* (Schirato and Webb 2004: 131 – see also Chaplin 1994; Kress *et al.* 1997; Sternberg 1997; Mirzoeff 1998; Emmison and Smith 2000; Banks 2001; Pink 2001; Palmer 2005). The argument I develop is that ‘heritage’ images undertake a significant role in legitimising and promoting a particular understanding of ‘heritage’. Moreover, images may be understood as “... *pervasive cultural performances of normalisation*” (Schirato and Webb 2004: 147) that let us know what is ‘normal’ and ‘desirable’ as ‘heritage’. As such, I will look briefly at some of the images included in the three documents analysed in the previous section. This is because, as Gillian Rose (1996: 281) points out, ‘knowing’ the world is often about ‘seeing’ the world.

The divisions around old/new, them/us, physicality/intangibility already discussed in this chapter are replicated by the imagery used in all three documents. For the moment, therefore, I want to take Hall’s (2005: 24) commentary literally and argue that: “... *those who cannot see themselves reflected in its [heritage] mirror cannot properly belong*”. Images, in the same way as text, play an important role in the creation and construction of heritage, instilling a particular version of heritage as reality. In terms of content, the three policy documents provide 65 images in total (*Power of Place*: 33, *Force for our Future*: 18 and *People and Places*: 14). Of these 65 images, an overwhelming number (44) primarily display a built or physical heritage comprising of buildings, sites or monuments (including industrial heritage, parks and gardens). The remaining eleven images show underwater heritage (1), skilled craftspeople (2), children (6), ethnic minority groups (6) and those with disabilities (1). A handful of the dominant images focusing on tangible sites and places of ‘heritage’ contain people. These tend to be either visitors to those places or experts scrutinising the fabric of those places, and there is a very obvious distinction implied between these two categories of people in the images used, shown in Figure 6.1.





**Figure 6.1:** Images of Authorised Heritage Sites with ‘Visitors’. Rather than presenting people-less sites, these images depict people enjoying relaxed heritage experiences within authorised ‘heritage’ settings (DCMS 2001a: 10, 32)

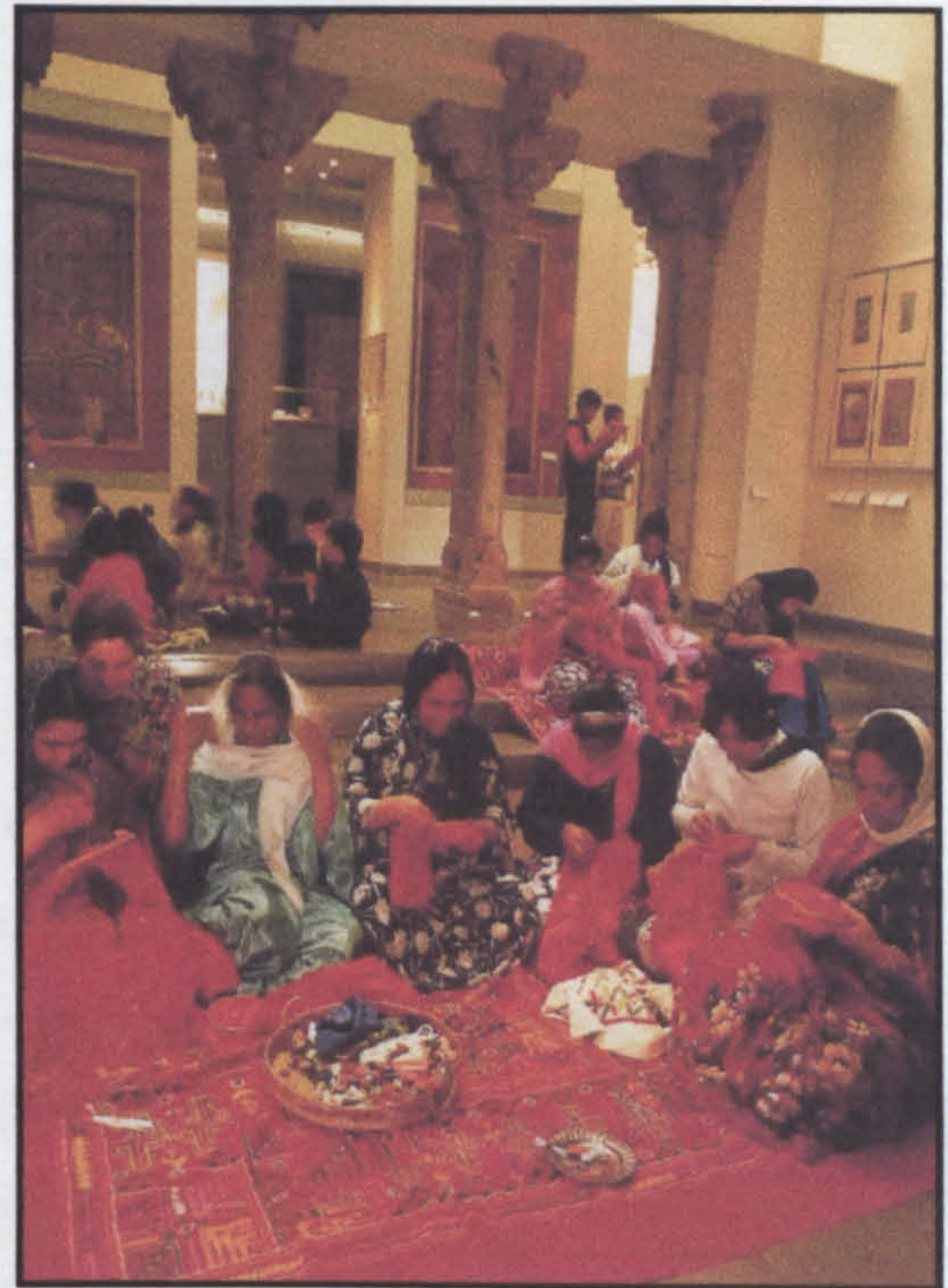
Heritage ‘visitors’, when depicted in these documents, are constructed as almost mindlessly wandering the sites and places portrayed. As B. Graham (2002: 1004) points out, “... *we create the heritage we require and manage it for a range of purposes defined by the needs and demands of our present societies*”. For some heritage users, this *may well* not be about the critical engagement often represented in recent heritage literature, but a more relaxed leisure experience. However, for others, as the research undertaken by McIntosh and Prentice (1999: 607), Bagnall (2003), Macdonald (2005a) and Smith (2006) reveals, a meaningful and *critical* engagement can, and often will, occur. Whether the affect is pedagogic or hedonic, many of the heritage users participating in the above-mentioned research projects were responding to ‘heritage’ in a way that extended beyond the cognitive (McIntosh and Prentice 1999: 607), and a crucial part of the production *and* consumption of heritage occurs ‘in place’, actively. By contrast, ‘experts’ are shown in these documents as thoroughly engaged and focused upon the ‘heritage’ sites, places and monuments with which they are pictured (see Figure 6.2).





**Figure 6.2:** Images of Authorised Heritage Sites with 'Experts'. 'Experts' are depicted as engaged, knowledgeable and concerned with the physicality of 'heritage' (DCMS 2001a: 17)

In all of these images, however, what dominates is the place of 'heritage' itself. It is only those images dealing with children and ethnic minority groups that take people as their primary focus, but these, again, are inevitably backgrounded with images of traditional 'heritage' as imagined by the AHD (see Figure 6.3). Outside of 'expertise', little room is allowed for active agents to engage with, negotiate and renew their definitions of 'heritage'. Instead, the 'wider public' become passive receptors with little capacity for identifying and managing 'heritage'.



**Figure 6.3:** Images of Authorised Heritage Sites with Children and Minority Groups, or, 'the excluded' (DCMS 2001a: 24 and English Heritage 2000r: 24)

Indeed, the only people who occupy active roles in any of the images used in the texts are almost entirely confined to children and 'multicultural', ethnic groups.



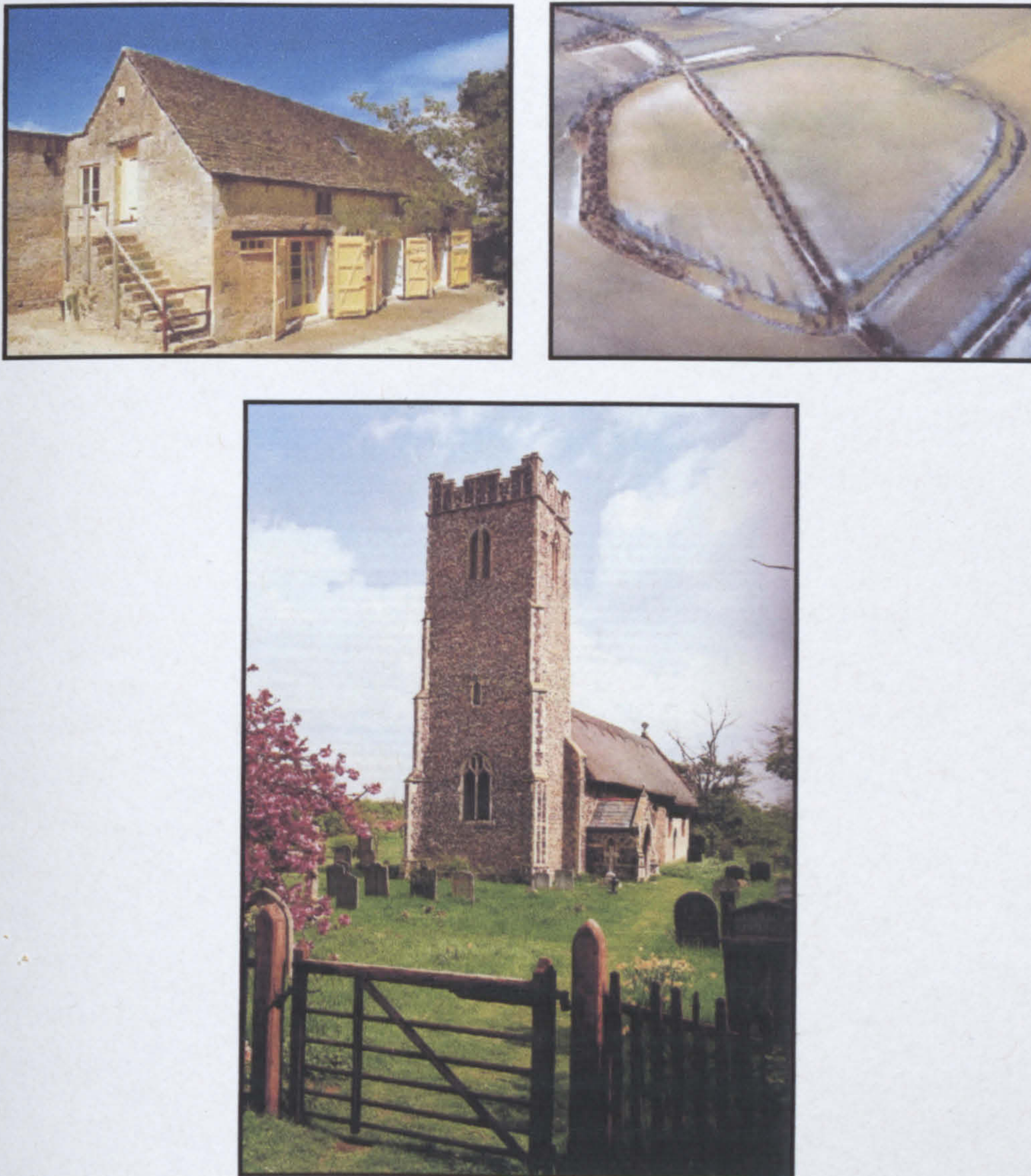
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These images are, however, limited to discrete sections of the document, and tend to be in sections where community issues and people are actively raised and discussed. Otherwise, the documents present a 'people-less heritage'. Children and multicultural groups thus become the communities of 'the excluded' in need of educating and/or assimilating into the dominant discourse. As Interviewee Thirteen (English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005) pointed out when talking about research funding:

*... a large portion will be social inclusion research of all forms, about engaging diverse audiences, about children and trying to find out what black people and women most appreciate.*

Also in contrast to that majority of images is the flash of vibrant colour used in the small selection of images illustrating ethnic minorities. While there is a noticeable difference in the camera angles and differences utilised for dominant imagery, there is an equally noticeable similarity between those pictures depicting children and those depicting ethnic minorities. The message, uncomfortable though it may be, seems to be that the two groups need similar treatment. While a tentative visual boundary between 'them' and 'us' has been drawn, this boundary appears to be designed with the aim of enticing particular target groups into 'the fold', so to speak, as all images of people have as their backdrop an authorised site or place of heritage (for example, Whitby Abbey or the Victoria and Albert Museum). Overall, the images are animated by a discourse dealing explicitly with innate and immutable senses of value, which can be *discovered* within the fabric of sites, monuments and buildings. A generalised and singular idea of 'heritage' is thus portrayed, which is predominantly hinged upon the tangible, and is characterised by an aura that combines age, aesthetics, wealth and the grand. In this sense, the visual imagery used slices off the deeper understandings of 'heritage' in favour of an assumed universal significance that is seen to exist *within* that place or aspect of material culture. This idea of heritage works to suppress any aspirations for personal, local or regional identity, or indeed any sense of identity that is not predicated on geography or history. What becomes apparent is an understanding of 'heritage' and 'identity' that is firmly drawn along the lines of similarity, rather than difference, allowing the unity of people considered within the management process to be defined specifically in terms of 'good', 'educational' and 'conflict-free'. In short, there is a reflection of an extraordinarily high commitment to one image of heritage, which can arguably act as a marker of a categorical, non-modalised assertion: 'heritage' is fabric, monumental and grand (see Figure 6.4).





**Figure 6.4:** The Dominant Imagery. These images are typical of the illustrations used in both tourism brochures and policy documents (English Heritage 2000r: 9, 15 and 44)

The criterion for inclusion of images appears to revolve around either aesthetics or the accumulation of historical ‘fact’, and thus portrays a world full of resonant iconic images saturated by notions of ‘age’ and ‘timelessness’, and devoid of people. The public, rooted as they are in the present and thus distinct from ‘the past’, are excluded from those debates surrounding what goes *into* the management process and are depicted as beneficiaries of the process by virtue of their role as outcomes: to be educated and informed.

This, of course, is with the exception of the ‘type’ of heritage associated with ethnic minority groups, which are rooted in the present. This notion was reinforced in interview:



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*... if we are following through the logic of certain government access and inclusion policies where you are looking at groups that are new to this country and you are asking them what it is about where they live that signifies heritage to them, then we should actually be able to, um, these things could be relatively recent ... places and themes that are their heritage will be totally different from our notions, which have to be thousands of years old before they are counted (Interviewee Eight, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

With the exception of those images dealing with ethnic minority groups and children (and the message implicit within the similarity of treatment here should not be overlooked), the images of heritage are almost entirely people-less, indirect and distant, with no role or interaction revealed between people and places. This, as Kress and van Leeuwen (1999: 383) argue, reconfigures those places as something 'on offer'. Importantly, the viewer is not encouraged to enter into any kind of social relationship with the objects, places or buildings represented. The remarkable diminishing of alternative constructions of heritage calls up important issues of power, and the ability of the AHD to secure a particular version of heritage over all other realisations.

### **CONCLUSION: THEY CAN NEVER BE THE BODY**

*They can never be the body, they can only be incorporated, contained, 'assimilated', taken into the body, eaten up (MacCannell 1992: 170).*

The discursive re-imagining of heritage outlined in this chapter owes a great deal to the influences of New Labour's social inclusion agenda. Indeed, between the years 1999 and 2001, the heritage sector was all but hypnotised by notions of inclusion and multiculturalism. The analysis of the particular articulation of inclusion emergent from this timeframe, however, reveals the less than optimistic social ramifications of a dialogue that is essentially closed. Beneath the surface of the 'pluralistic' agenda offered by New Labour lies the more important, yet implicit, ideological work of discourse. Here, heritage, predominantly imagined as something that is passively consumed and/or visited, is framed entirely along the lines of a prioritised group, itself defined by the parameters of class and ethnicity. Indeed, as the following quote demonstrates, this impulse towards social inclusion skates considerably closer to assimilation:

*I think we are not investing enough effort into some of the softer areas like social ownership and memory ... you know, that is tied up with social inclusion. English Heritage has, by and large, not got a brilliant track record, the language is spoken quite well but ... if you get a lot of specialists standing around they always talk about how they can make what they do relevant, and actually that is*



*the wrong way round. If you just take what you do and try and add on a social inclusion and make it relevant you will fail. What we should be doing is actually finding what is relevant to the public and doing something about it, but we haven't really begun that yet ... (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005).*

As this quote points out, the rhetoric of 'social inclusion' has not really begun to seep into practice within the heritage sector. Where the language of social inclusion *has* been taken up, it has a tendency towards assimilation, rather than presenting an opportunity for equitable dialogue and involvement. Indeed, the prevalence of the AHD, with its strong emphasis on national identity, is able to re-invent these inclusive overtones in a manner that subtly expresses a belief in the superiority of a particular notion of culture and heritage. Indeed, the charges of elitism offered by Hewison, Wright and the heritage industry were revealed to be very much still in operation. The pulpit for this elitism, however, has changed. It is no longer delivered with the singular, authoritative voice of the expert, or, as Holden (2004: 24, emphasis in original) puts it, "*We will decide what has intrinsic merit and you will take two teaspoons a day*". Rather, it is expressed with a dialogicality that is slightly less pronounced and a focus upon commonality. Modality, on the other hand, is used to express a commitment, or obligation, towards 'informing', 'education' and 'explaining'. 'We' still decide, but 'you' will be encouraged and appropriately educated to take your two teaspoons, rather than simply instructed.

The analytical picture generated within this chapter is not simply the result of the re-coding of the AHD and discourses of social inclusion into a joint vocabulary, but is a blending of the broader political agendas touched upon in Chapter 2. It is also reflective of wider policy attempts to address socio-economic problems through the lenses of the more nebulous concept of 'culture'. Heritage policy, situated within the realm of cultural politics, is unsurprisingly influenced by wider New Labour discourses, and is thus often implicitly based upon instrumental values, economic impacts and managerial outcomes. The hangovers from a belief in 'enterprise culture' (see Chapter 2) have lingered, with concepts of 'product', 'consumer' and 'investment' remaining at the forefront of policy. No longer is the preservation of cultural practices and heritages simply a matter of course but, rather, these decisions have become something that has sought a different set of justifications (Belfiore 2002: 94). Indeed, heritage has been required to diminish crime and poverty, rejuvenate communities and neighbourhoods, and contribute to the national



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economy through tourism. Heritage for its own sake, whatever that meant, just as 'art for art's sake', has no longer been viable.

Overall, this chapter has illustrated three things. Firstly, it has revealed the textual introduction of social inclusion to heritage policy. It mapped a sense of how this concept of 'social inclusion' was to be understood within the heritage sector and charted the ways in which it attempted to colonise heritage policy. What it illustrated about this colonisation process was the tenacity of the AHD, demonstrating how the dominant discourse was called upon to limit the threat or risk faced by several institutional identities by the incorporation of social inclusion into the policy sphere. Secondly, it introduced a very concrete sense of the mutability of the AHD, through a mapping of the fluctuations between Factor One, the romanticised AHD and Factor Two 'A', the stereotypical AHD, as identified in Chapter 4. To this end, it demonstrated a relaxing or softening of the more strident aspects of Factor Two 'A', such as the exclusion of present generations, but an adherence to several core assumptions, such as patrimony and the inherent 'good' of heritage. Factor One could certainly be said to dominate the three documents analysed in this chapter, and is suggestive of a continued move away from Factor Two 'A'. What was also noticeable in the linguistic features of the texts studied is the subtle emergence of Factor Three, or the realisation that heritage may be used for different ends to what it has been traditionally associated: in this case, social inclusion. As such, within the published documents, 'heritage' is seen to be developing a life, or agency, of its own.

Thirdly, an important textual and social shift was observed between the two concepts 'heritage' and 'historic environment'. This shift was seen to be doing important, but unannounced, social work in terms of power and control over *what* and *when* something is defined as 'heritage'. By imposing a distinction between the concepts, two important consequences occurred: first, the dissonance and conflict acknowledged to exist around 'heritage' was pushed under the veneer of an assumedly 'objective' historic environment; and, second, the position of the 'expert' was legitimised and sustained through his or her assumed ability to negotiate the movement of things from those considered a part of the historic environment to those things plucked out as worthy (and safe) enough to be considered 'heritage'. The next chapter will explore these three issues in further detail, focusing explicitly upon the social implications of this textually imposed distinction between 'heritage' and 'historic environment'.

## REVIEW AND REFORM

### The changing face of 'heritage' policy

#### INTRODUCTION: RHETORIC VERSUS REALITY

In Chapter 5, I examined the firming up of the *Authorised Heritage Discourse* in England's heritage legislation. In that chapter, I argued that heritage policy is framed by a hegemonic discourse that works to privilege a particular sense of 'heritage'. An important consequence of this framing is the textual and social exclusion of alternative understandings of 'heritage'. In Chapter 6, I further developed this argument by analysing New Labour's discourses of social inclusion. Here, I argued that the AHD recontextualised social inclusion in a limited and contradictory way, such that the resultant hybridisation works only to further exclude and/or assimilate. A particular discursive move isolated in that chapter was the transferral of focus from 'heritage' to the 'historic environment', which worked to naturalise the idea of an objective and inherently 'good', 'safe' and 'all-encompassing' 'past'. To this point, I have argued that while the introduction of social inclusion discourses mark a significant concession of power on the part of the AHD, this shift has not signalled a total surrender; indeed, the power of the AHD is something that is continually reasserted, tested, exercised and sustained. The hybridisation of the AHD with social inclusion discourses is thus perhaps better framed and understood as an implicit colonisation process, resulting in a hybrid discourse that has taken up a conciliatory, yet implicitly assimilatory, nature.

The previous chapters thus began the first two phases of an argument I have organised into three parts, with the current chapter offering the third and final part. The aim of this chapter is to further explore the hybridisation of the AHD



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and social inclusion through the developing policy interest in the concept of 'public value'. I will argue that this interest in 'public value' serves simply to further hybridise the AHD without sacrificing any of its core assumptions. Indeed, the rather elastic notion of 'public value' presents the *continuation* of an attempt to capitalise upon the *assumed* socially progressive and non-elitist potential of the 'historic environment'. The change in terms from 'heritage' to 'historic environment' will therefore be returned to in order to further develop the argument that this change satisfies 'social inclusion' in rhetoric only; indeed, buried amongst the linguistic features of a range of recent policy texts lie the discursive markers that reveal that this change is only skin-deep. What remains to be done in this chapter is explore exactly how seamless the continued restructuring of 'heritage' and the 'historic environment' appears over time, particularly with reference to its variability and unevenness.

In developing the above argument, the purpose of this chapter is to examine more recent instantiations of the AHD through DCMS's attempts at 'modernisation'. To do so, I will draw from two key movements within the heritage sector: (a) review periods and the production of associated documents, texts and memos, culminating in the *Heritage Protection Review (HPR)*;<sup>17</sup> and (b) debates surrounding the 'public value' of heritage, which are occurring in tandem with the HPR. This is evidenced by the 2003 conference *Valuing Culture*, the 2006 conference *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage*, Tessa Jowell's personal essays *Government and the Value of Culture* (2004) and *Better Places to Live: Government, Identity and the Value of the Historic and Built Environment* (2005a), the National Trust and Accenture's (2006) recent policy document *Demonstrating the Public Value of Heritage*, the *Citizen's Juries*, undertaken by the HLF, the development of English Heritage's *Conservation Principles, Policies and Guidance for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (2006c), and the dedicated theme of the 2006 *Heritage Counts* annual – 'communities' and 'heritage' (cf. English Heritage 2006a,b). Similarly, a flurry of publications from a number of influential think tanks – such as *Capturing Cultural Value* (Holden 2004), *Cultural Value and the Crisis of Legitimacy* (Holden 2006), *Challenge and Change: HLF and Cultural Value* (Hewison and Holden 2004), *From Access to Participation: Cultural Policy and Civil Renewal* (Kearney 2006),

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<sup>17</sup> This review is intended to result in the publication of a Heritage White Paper, initially due in October 2006. However, at the time of writing this chapter, it became apparent that the forthcoming White Paper would not be made available for public consumption until 5<sup>th</sup> March 2007.



*Use or Ornament: The Social Impact of Participation in the Arts* (Matarasso 1997 – see also Hewitt 2004; IPPR 2005), and *Culture Shock: Main Report* (Wood and Gould n.d.) – substantiates this observation. Indeed, as Hewison and Holden (2004: 6) point out, the post-2003 policy environment can be almost *entirely* summed up by the government's *Heritage Protection Review* and 'public value' debates, both of which were fostered by a common aim within the heritage policy sphere:

*... to establish how policies and practices of heritage organisations and others can best enhance the meaning, value, impact and role of heritage in society (UKHERG 2005: 4).*

As such, it is these two areas of public policy debate that form the focus of this chapter. The chapter will firstly commence with an exploration of the congruence between heritage policy and wider cultural policy. Second, it will focus more firmly upon the 'public value' debates currently animating DCMS, English Heritage and the National Trust. From there, it will examine more closely the publication of English Heritage's *Conservation Principles*, before finally exploring the *Heritage Protection Review* (HPR) as a comparative point from which to make more meaningful statements about where 'heritage' debates are currently placed. The textual analysis undertaken in this chapter will be supplemented by commentary emerging out of a number of in-depth interviews primarily conducted with employees working for the Department for Culture, Media and Sport and English Heritage, along with a number of interviews undertaken with people associated with a range of heritage organisations.

#### **NATIONAL, INSTRUMENTAL OR CULTURAL VALUE? THE RHETORICAL DISJUNCTURE**

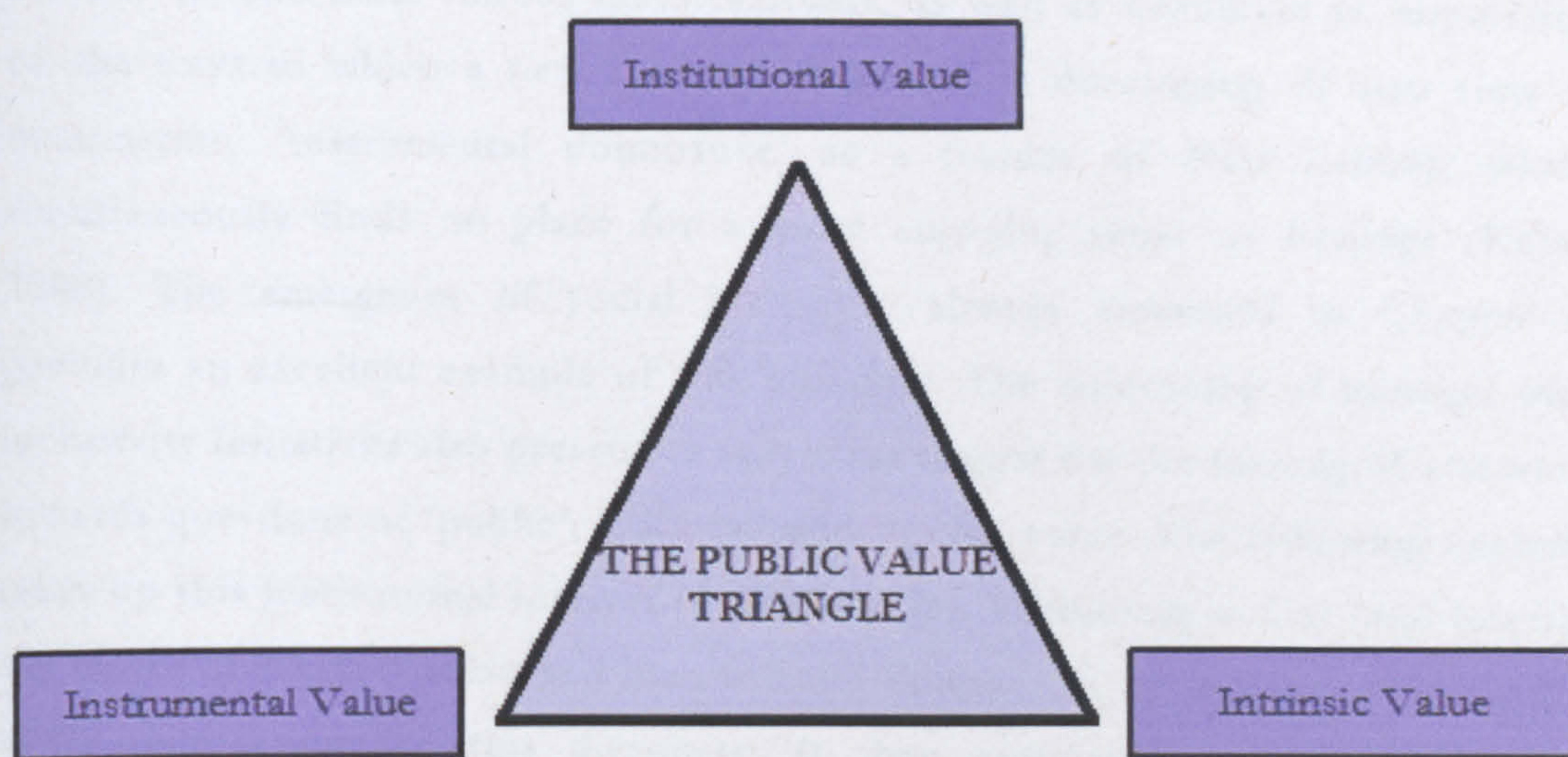
Kate Clark (2006: 3 – see also Clark 2005; UKHERG 2005: 3) has pointed out that "... *[v]alue ... remains at the centre of all heritage practice*". This is a point that was reiterated in interview, with Interviewee Sixteen (DCMS, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005) noting that 'value' "... *is something that we as a department have yet to realise, that is a real core problem, understanding what 'value' is and how you parcel it up*". Likewise, Interviewee Ten (English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005) remarked: "... *they [DCMS and English Heritage] are increasingly becoming interested right at the moment around issues around, um, public value, identity and how heritage relates to that*". In July 2005, prior to Clark's statement, a study was commissioned by English Heritage, the DCMS, the DfT and the HLF into the existing valuation of the historic environment (EFTEC 2005). It is thus not surprising that a broad theme recurrent within the



heritage sector, and wider cultural policy, both in the UK and internationally, is the residual crisis of value (McGuigan 1996: 30). Indeed, as Interviewee Four (Heritage Lottery Fund, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2005) points out:

*... current social debates have given a new lease of life to 'value' and 'significance' ... where public value is involved, I use the 'Public Value Triangle'.*

Stripped back to its crudest, this crisis has revolved around ideas of intrinsic,<sup>18</sup> instrumental<sup>19</sup> and institutional<sup>20</sup> value, or what Interviewee Four refers to above as the 'Public Value Triangle' (cf. de la Torre *et al.* 2005; Belfiore and Bennett 2006; Clark 2006; Hewison and Holden 2006; Kettle 2006; Jowell 2006). The so-called 'Public Value Triangle' (Figure 7.1), also referred to as the 'three-legged stool' (Jowell 2006: 11; Matty 2006), is becoming increasingly familiar in heritage debates and policy, and has even been picked up in the media (cf. Hewison and Holden 2006: 15–16; Holden 2006; Mattinson 2006: 86; Matty 2006; Kettle 2006; Ray 2006; The National Trust and Accenture 2006).



**Figure 7.1:** The Public Value Triangle (Hewison and Holden 2006: 15)

In conjunction with the value formations charted through the preceding chapters, the notion of 'public' value holds resonance with what McGuigan (2004: 35) has identified as the three discourses of cultural policy: state, market

<sup>18</sup> "Value inherent in heritage, the benefit derived from heritage products for their existence value and for their own sake" (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 10).

<sup>19</sup> "The benefit of the heritage product in terms of visitors, volunteers and wider social, economic, environmental and educational benefits at a community level" (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 10).

<sup>20</sup> "The processes and techniques used to create value, organisational legitimacy, public trust in the organisation, accountability and public trust in the fairness and equality of organisational processes" (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 10).



and civil/communicative. As discursive formations, McGuigan (1996: 53) citing Young goes on to argue, these effect situations within which it is “... *virtually impossible to think outside of them*”. This rudimentary breakdown of discourses is to some extent inviting. This is because the policy documents utilised for this research have progressed through similar discursive imaginings, from the prevailing ‘nationalised’ heritage of the 1970s, to the ‘commercialised’ heritage of the 1980s and 1990s, and, more recently, signs of a shift towards a more ‘civil society’ understanding of heritage. This similarity allows for the conclusion that the development of heritage policy did not occur in isolation. More importantly, the AHD, which lies at the heart of this thesis, has absorbed many of the ideological features of all three of McGuigan’s discourses, and has secured them interdiscursively through its dominance (see McGuigan 2004: 35, who talks more generally about ‘dominant ideological discourses’ in cultural policy).

The aim of this section is to highlight the residual features of state and market discourses, and their various manifestations, as well as formulate an impression of the ways in which a new sense of ‘heritage’ is developing. It also aims to demonstrate ‘instrumental dominance’ as a feature of New Labour, which simultaneously finds no place for a more engaging sense of heritage (Kettle 2006). The emergence of social inclusion, already examined in Chapter 6, provides an excellent example of this blending. The conjoining of heritage with inclusivity initiatives also presents a very clear trigger for the turning of attention towards questions of ‘public’, ‘cultural’ and ‘social’ value. The following analysis takes up this institutional interest in public value, examining it first (and briefly) for traces of marketisation and instrumental dominance, before investigating the wider implications of this discourse. It then examines in closer detail the discursive markers that mediate the apparently cultural democratic approaches to heritage, culture and the arts. Finally, it explores the materialisation of these debates in a range of policy documents. The questions that guide the analysis undertaken in this chapter continue to revolve around Smith’s characterisation of the AHD, which was further fleshed out and substantiated in Chapters 5 and 6. Here, I intend to draw out the layers, nuances and flexibilities of that discourse, examining how it is subtly altered across time, yet still retains a core set of characteristics. In taking texts produced between 2003 and 2006, I suggest that it is possible to glimpse the synchronicity of these discourses, despite their differences.



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### *Instrumentality and Ritual Cultural Policy*

While the overall chapter is constructed around the hybridisation of the AHD and social inclusion discourses as identified in Chapter 6, this section will focus upon the recent shifts in instrumentality arguments, which posit heritage as a tool that can be used to realise a range of tangential goals. Although heritage always carries an instrumental logic of sorts (see Chapter 2), in recent policy documents this has taken up a particular form. Quite aside from the more obvious economic impacts of heritage, most often cited in terms of tourism and community regeneration (cf. Cossons 2004; Jowell 2004, 2005a; Thurley 2004 – see also McGuigan 2004; Miles 2005; Belfiore 2006; Mirza 2006a,b; Selwood 2006), it is also linked to discourses of social and personal well-being, underpinned by a belief in the transformative and ameliorative powers of culture and heritage (Trotter 2002; Hewitt 2004; English Heritage 2005e; Heritage Link *et al.* 2007: 3). This causal link is a trend reflective of wider cultural policy initiatives (e.g. Trotter 2002; Johannisson 2006; Mirza 2006a), which, although they don't need to be rehearsed here, offer a potential nodal point for revealing a very enlightened notion of heritage previously unknown in a policy sense. This 'enlightened' notion sees a twist in the instrumental entwining of heritage and economics, promoting a more complex notion of heritage capable of bringing, and doing, 'good' for society. The nascent stages of an inherently 'good' heritage, as identified in Chapter 6, are developed here, with 'heritage' granted greater agency and the capabilities for actually *doing* good. It becomes a means to something else, or as suggested by Factor Three (see Chapter 4), recontextualised in line with ideas of governance. An examination of a variety of recent speeches and personal essays authored by Tessa Jowell, Secretary of State for Culture, Media and Sport, along with commentary offered by David Lammy, Minister of Culture, and Sir Neil Cossons, Chair of English Heritage, amongst others, reveals these tendencies:

***Culture alone can give people the means better to understand and engage with life, and as such is a key part in reducing inequality of opportunity, and which can help us slay the sixth giant of modern times – poverty of aspiration (Jowell 2004: 18, my emphasis).***

*This historic environment and wider heritage contributes to a wide range of Government ambitions to cut crime, promote inclusion, improve educational achievement, but is worth supporting in itself, for the way it can encourage people better to understand and engage with their history and their community, and help slay that poverty of aspiration which holds so many people back from fulfilling their potential (Jowell 2005a: 24).*



*Government has long understood and championed culture at the heart of regeneration ... There has been a strong recognition that such regeneration can bring economic benefits, as revitalised areas attract both people and businesses. And help to tackle key issues as crime, education, health and unemployment (Jowell 2005b: 2).*

*People have long understood the many benefits the historic environment brings to our lives and the ways in which it underlies so many other aspects of economic and social life ... it is for this reason that the debate has so much to offer wider discussions about the liveability of places, sustainable development, well-being, localism and quality of life (Sinden et al. 2004: 3).*

The idea of heritage drawn upon in the above extracts revolves around a number of discursive markers suggestive of a combining of the ‘therapeutic’ and ‘social democratic’ inclusivity discourses. This is a union further reinforced in interview:

*... that is what English Heritage is concerned about ... that the historic environment is seen as central to people’s wellbeing, and social inclusion objectives and to building communities. Ah, and people’s enjoyment and appreciation of their surroundings (Interviewee Thirteen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

The discursive markers, or nodal points, that signify the union include a focus on ‘wellbeing’, ‘the welfare of people’, ‘the generation of benefits’, ‘revitalisation’, ‘equitable opportunities’ and the ‘social impact of heritage’. In each example, every sentence can be read as an elaboration of, or addition to, the fragment I have emphasised above. They do not offer an explanation of causal links, but establish, more or less in list form, a diverse (and naturalised) range of the changes, affects and benefits for culture and/or heritage. What these lists tend to signify is the inevitability of the relationship between heritage and positive social effects. Indeed, no cause and effect needs to be mentioned, as the deeper relationship between the two can be assumed from their recurrence and knitting together of the concepts (Fairclough 2000: 28). Most of the clauses within these extracts are parataxically related, so as to convey equality within each list. Semantically and grammatically, this provides an example of the ‘logic of appearances’ (Fairclough 2000: 23; 2003: 95). Here, instead of presenting explanation, the links between heritage and the nodal markers of the therapeutic/social democratic dyad are taken as given. The consequences of re-centring culture as a means of better understanding life are implicitly taken as desirable; likewise, culture and heritage, together, take on the form of the ‘good’, the ‘enabler’ and the ‘fulfiller’. In the building of this representation of heritage,



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the text is reliant upon both moral evaluation and mythopoesis as forms of legitimisation. In these documents, while no real vigour is lent to understanding *how* culture and heritage operate in these ways, they nonetheless build a picture of a past that will make 'lasting contributions'. To fail to harness this power is to invite the continuance of the 'poverty of aspiration'. This, the legitimating techniques implicitly, and perhaps disingenuously, suggest, will lead to the long-term material and psychological disadvantages of social exclusion.

The merging of instrumentality into the dialectics of cultural policy, in conjunction with the firming up of heritage as morally 'good', 'enabling' and 'fulfilling', is particularly visible in the following statements:

*No part of our culture is more important to the observer than the look of the environment in which we live (Jowell 2005a: 18).*

*I believe that when we see beautiful or intriguing buildings and places, whether ancient or modern, we are adding to that reservoir of personal resource as much as music, literature, or the visual arts (Jowell 2005a: 18).*

Quite aside from the overwhelming propensity towards the fabric and monumentality of heritage, a number of other observations can be made. Here, improving the image and attractiveness of places is argued to foster feelings of well-being (Røyseng 2006: 2). This is reminiscent of policies initially developed in the 1980s, which placed emphasis on the physical development and improved external images of a range of cities (Belfiore 2002: 96). Implicitly connected to notions of instrumentality, these strategies of regeneration draw upon the assumed material and psychological outcomes of social inclusion, along with the transformative powers of heritage, as legitimising techniques. Looking at or seeing this ameliorative heritage transforms *us*, allowing us to centre ourselves and gain confidence and self-identify. These links between heritage and a range of positive, social affects becomes a potent discursive marker:

*We want to engage local communities in shaping their environment so that regeneration and renewal is enriched by the best of the past as well as welcoming creativity and change (Lammy 2006a: 1).*

*The historic environment puts quality, variety and meaning into people's lives and gives them the opportunity to understand and engage with life (Cossons 2004: 3).*

*Buildings and their settings are important because of the stories they tell, and the connections they make; who we are, why, and where we came from. In*



*many ways this clear sense of national identity is more important now than ever (Jowell 2005a: 3 – see also Hansard House of Commons Debates 25<sup>th</sup> January 2007 c538 WH [Heritage, Mr Alan Beith, Berwick-upon-Tweed]).*

Added to this, the final sentence above utilises both the nationalising and aestheticising tendencies of the AHD to reinforce this point. It is the ‘beautiful’ and ‘intriguing’ aspects of a built heritage that offer credence to national identity, and as such, it is these aspects that must take precedence. This point is pushed by an injection of urgency (is more important now than ever), which brings with it a strong moralistic undertone. Once again, mythopoesis can be glimpsed, especially when examined in relation to the following statements:

*A building that is not a pleasant or interesting place to be, that does not engage the people who use it, is likely to have a short life due to neglect or vandalism born out of indifference or outright hostility (Jowell 2005a: 18).*

*The mundane and ugly in music and art are soon swept away and forgotten (Jowell 2005a: 11).*

*Where its potential has not been recognised or harnessed, where it has been ignored, degraded or destroyed, the quality of people’s lives have been impoverished and opportunities stifled (English Heritage 2005e: 2).*

*At the end of the day, areas such as mine [Newcastle-under-Lyme], which are affected by industrial decay, need well-designed things for people to talk about (Hansard House of Commons Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> January 2007 c562 WH [Heritage, [Heritage, Mr Paul Farrelly]).*

*Everywhere we look, history surrounds us. In each city, town, village and landscape, historic buildings and sites define the character of places where we live and work. Losing these landmarks, through neglect and decay, changes the way a place looks forever, and squanders its most valuable assets (Thurley 2003: 1).*

*Where the historic environment is nurtured and harnessed for good it creates real social and economic benefits offering everyone characterful, desirable and distinctive places to live. Where people fail to see its potential, do not attempt to harness its power, where it is neglected and ignored, degraded and destroyed, poverty, crime and economic failure follow (Cossons 2004: 4).*

A form of mythopoesis, the narrative under construction is able to combine both ‘moral’ and ‘caution’ (Fairclough 2003: 99). As evidenced in the last of these extracts, this combination can create a particularly strongly constructed sense of right and wrong that is quite obviously assimilatory, both in tone and attempts at legitimisation. Correspondingly, recognising and protecting the ‘pleasant’, ‘interesting’ and ‘characterful’ makes a contribution to the well-being of the individual, the community and the nation. In contrast, failing to implement such



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policies – indeed, a failure to harness the historic environment for *good*, whatever that means – runs the risk of inciting ‘vandalism’, ‘hostility’ and ‘indifference’, which in turn will promote poverty, crime and failure. The weaving of these ideas within the English Heritage quote cited above makes these links between heritage and social inclusion appear inevitable. It also conjures up a menacing undercurrent, in which failure to *appropriately* harness heritage, or the historic environment, ultimately condemns a range of people to exclusion, surrounded by places that are ‘ugly’ and ‘soulless’ (Cossons 2004: 4). An additional point arising out of the above is the implicit reference to the core assumption of aesthetics, or ‘beauty’. To reject the ‘ugly’, as the above quotations do, is to covertly accept the virtues of beauty, an argument that is recurrent in the previous chapter:

*... another reason for valuing the local historic environment is that of beauty. A commentator recently noted that beauty is a word seldom used today. Yet it is what people look for when they visit places of historic interest and hope to find at home (CPRE et al. 2004: 8, emphasis in original).*

Two points need drawing out here. First, this is a striking instance of Factor Three in operation, in which both the malleability and utility of ‘heritage’ are explicitly acknowledged. For the first time, we begin to get a sense that ‘heritage’ is perhaps not inherently ‘good’, but may also be open to manipulation. What is particularly unpleasant about this framing, however, is the degree of power that is given to ‘heritage’ or the ‘historic environment’ *in conjunction* with the assumption that crime and poverty are somehow linked to a failure to participate in the AHD or broader ‘mainstream’ social values. Ultimately, the rather striking twist of power attributed to ‘heritage’ is, by implication, extended to those who manage it. It is also explicitly assimilatory by virtue of the fact that it verges on making veiled threats: in much the same way as van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999) flag up ‘hygiene’ as an area of social control utilised in moral evaluations, ‘wellbeing’ is here being drawn upon as an area of social control, and is being used to strongly encourage conformity. While this is emerging as a dominant feature of heritage policy, it is not accepted through heritage institutions, as Interviewee Thirteen (English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005) makes clear:

*I think it is a mistake to think that you can solve problems of disengagement and social desegregation and fragmentation through cultural problems, it is a big idea, but heritage, my feeling is that it is a take it or leave it thing. You are either interested or you are not, and I don't think it should be compulsory ... That is a personal view and DCMS would be encouraging us all the time to make people realise that heritage is important to them.*



The above quote draws attention to two importance points. First, it is a reminder that this thesis offers a characterisation of the dominant discourse, rather than an assertion of the existence of homogenously organised institutions. Indeed, there will always be those who resist and criticise, but what is interesting to note is how that resistance bears out in reality. Second, it offers an illustration of the high level of commitment the government has for their heritage agenda, and making people realise the importance of that agenda.

The argument I am developing here gains considerable strength with the addition of Røyseng's (2006: 5) insights into what she has termed 'ritual cultural policy', or, as P. Pels (2003: 35) characterises it, modernity's 'enchantment'. Røyseng sees this as a departure from the logic of instrumentalism, preferring to focus instead upon the transformative powers of culture and heritage. Ritual cultural policy, she asserts, rests on:

*... a confidence in the potential of change inherent within art and culture. Something positive happens to people exposed to art and culture, and something positive happens to the societal sectors where art and culture are introduced (Røyseng 2006: 5).*

This type of logic is exceptionally clear in all of the extracts cited above. The links between heritage and positive social effects, while never evidenced in any clear way, are certainly paramount to the sentiments expressed. It is simply 'something that happens'. In this relationship, heritage takes up the therapeutic power of the healer, and is used to revitalise and reinvigorate whole swathes of land, including the people living and working there. It is bathed in an entirely positive light, with any detrimental affects noted to arise out of our own failure to maximise its potential. Røyseng (2006: 6) introduces two conceptualisations of ritual cultural policy, both of which have relevance. Like Fairclough's (2000: ix) 'mere words, empty rhetoric', Røyseng's first notion of ritual cultural policy refers to the repetition of policy principles that hold no real substance, and are at odds with what happens in practice. This sense of 'ritual' has obvious connotations for the wider research project, which has examined the ritualistic uttering of 'social inclusion', regardless of how meaningless this phrase may appear in practice. Of specific interest to this chapter, however, is Røyseng's (2006: 6) second interpretation, which is based on the reification of culture as



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*something* that possesses ‘magical powers’, or *something* within which to seek solace (Magelssen 2002). It is magical because, as Nakamura (2005: 21) points out, it lies beyond our reach and we are not quite able to invoke an explanation as to *why* ‘heritage’ should be capable of such potential. Notwithstanding its repetition, social inclusion in this sense offers a sense of heritage that borders on unfathomable. Indeed, it is granted magical, transformative powers, with little clarity afforded to how it came to possess and dispense those powers. It is revered and almost sacralised because of the power vested within it through policies such as social inclusion, which make a particular idea of heritage appear extraordinary and unique. Heritage as experienced, as part of ‘the everyday’ and as potentially mundane and banal (O’Guinn and Belk 2002: 230 – see Chapter 2) is once again overshadowed by the discursive reconstructions of it through these ritual cultural policies. Instead, it is simply good, or “... *goodly heritage*” (Psalm 16, cited in Lowenthal 1998a: xiii). The conceptual space shared with ritualised policy and the AHD means that ideas of a ‘good’, ‘grand’ and ‘exceptional’ heritage become regular discursive markers, or nodal points for a particular representation of heritage:

*It [the historic environment] includes buildings of bewildering scale and beauty such as Durham Cathedral, landscapes as remarkable and ancient as Stonehenge or the Yorkshire Dales, townscapes as powerful and elegant as Bath or Spitalfields (Cossons 2004: 2–3).*

This representation sponsors an image of heritage that is romantic, majestic and exceptional. It demonstrates the discursive fluttering between a number of discourses, particularly Factors One and Three as isolated in Chapter 4. Here, Factor One appears to flex its discursive muscles in order to create an affinity with a socially encoded message, which is made more powerful through consensus and repeated formulations of power, fabric and wealth. Underpinning these nodal markers is the implicit message that one does not ‘indulge’ in the ordinary. Instead, heritage is envisioned as something that is marvelled at, from a distance, as a detour from the familiar. Indeed, the unease with which the ‘ordinary’ is incorporated into policy documents in response to ‘public value’ debates is testament to this unease:

*This report focuses on the challenge of understanding and protecting the ‘remarkable commonplace’ as much as the precious and the rare (CPRE et al. 2004: 4).*



The discursive union of remarkable and commonplace illustrates this point.

In a sense, this fetishisation of the past borders on Durkheimian, in which heritage can be seen to closely align with the ‘real function’ of religion:

*It is also necessary that this object sets free energies superior to these which we ordinarily have at our command and also that we have some means of making these enter into us and unite themselves to our interior life (Durkheim 1965: 464, cited in Bradley 2002: 23).*

In some respects, this line of argument may seem a stretch, but it does draw parallels with Smith’s (1988: 176) observation that “... *ethnic nationalism becomes a ‘surrogate’ religion*”, Misztal’s suggestion (2004: 68), reflecting on Smith, that there has recently been an “... *emergence of a new wave of spirituality*” and Lowenthal’s (1998a: 2) assertion that “... *the creed of heritage answers needs for ritual devotion*”. Pivotal significance – and agency – is granted to the historic environment, which is simultaneously revered and granted iconic status (Misztal 2004: 69). As Misztal goes on to point out, tied up in recent quests for group identity has come the reactivation of the connections between memory and the soul, although for Misztal this linkage places particular emphasis on traumatic memories. Nowhere has this linkage been more prominently expressed than in response to the recent restructuring of English Heritage, to which Neil Cossons (cited in Girling 2005: 2) remarked, “*If you sideline our heritage, you sideline the nation's soul*”. In many ways, this particular rendering of heritage reflects the heightening significance of identity politics and discourses of recognition (Misztal 2004: 76), which, while on the one hand are encouraging of plurality and multiculturalism, are on the other hand implicitly defensive. This has seen a dramatic resurgence in discourses of national identity and national belonging. In terms of heritage policy, this means that despite discursive attempts to democratise the management process, nationalising discursive elements are still mobilised and enacted in the policy process:

*This is where the historic and built environment connects us with other aspects of heritage – the memories, the shared experiences, the oral history and the written records – that bind across the generations (Jowell 2005a: 15).*

*Heritage defined for our times while still respecting the past makes a powerful contribution to that sense of belonging, that sense of national identity (Jowell 2005a: 4).*



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In these extracts, heritage has also taken up a nominalised representation, such that agency or the acts, experiences or expressions of *doing* heritage are removed. In a majority of documents, this nominalisation is rehearsed, such that the process of doing heritage is abstracted and pacified, with agents, or people, not textualised. Another example is found in the following memorandum composed by DCMS and submitted to the Select Committee on Culture, Media and Sport:

*The historic environment makes a vital contribution in enabling the planning system to achieve its statutory objective. It plays a key role in delivering sustainable development by promoting economic prosperity, environmental protection and enhancement, as well as social inclusion and community cohesion (DCMS 2006c: 7).*

Instead, something perceived to be an inanimate object (and this is the understanding espoused intertextually) is attributed as the agent of a verb: 'Heritage creates', 'heritage provides', heritage contributes', 'heritage adds', and so on (cf. English Heritage 2004a; DCMS 2006c,d). It is also nationalised. Combined, this reification of a nominalisation allows resultant policy documents to present a situation within which heritage is able to *make people* better understand life, deny the impulse to commit crimes, strive for greater educational achievements, live healthier lives and appreciate who they are. Heritage, in this sense, will likewise encourage greater economic returns and social inclusion. In short, it is afforded a role as a "... *source of energy sending life-giving powers to its surroundings*" (Røyseng 2006: 6).

The nostalgic glances of the AHD are slightly modified here, with images of the authentic 'golden age' projected into the future rather than remembered in the past (see C. Graham 2001; Adorno 2003). In this rendering, the past and future are still perceived as crucial, with the present marginalised, although it is our actions in the present that will secure the euphoric projection. This ritualistic understanding of 'the past' is still tied to a fabric-orientated understanding of heritage, is nationalised in focus, and offers an accidental and unacknowledged blending of intrinsic and instrumental 'value'. Heritage remains 'good', 'sanitised' and 'exceptional'; indeed, it remains the whipping boy of Cultural Studies, as Samuel (1994: 259–260) pointed out, taming and anaesthetising the past, making it appear 'harmless' and 'safe'. Ironically, in this guise a conceptualisation of heritage devoid of conflict and social inequalities is being utilised to overcome such inequalities, and it is arguable that the same lenses that allow us to 'see'



heritage as conflict-free are being employed to once again mask, rather than challenge, social inequalities. This is a paradox that draws parallels with wider critiques of New Labour, which Marquand (1998: 1), for example, characterises as inclusionary, ‘a healer’, uniting and for ‘the people’. He furthers his argument by describing New Labour as the “... *nearest thing to Christian democracy*” (1998: 1), a concept that evokes striking similarities with the ritualised vision of heritage outlaid above.

The above has briefly reviewed the renewed interest in value within the heritage sector, particularly in terms of the emphasis placed on instrumental and intrinsic value. In an overt attempt to dismantle the political preoccupation with instrumental value, Tessa Jowell (2004: 8) proposed an alternative approach that sought to examine what “... *culture actually does in and of itself*”, evoking a more intrinsic orientation to heritage. The danger here, of course, is that this line of thinking, while primarily attempting to understand *why* people value heritage, skates considerably closer to legitimising the position of expertise and patrimony by championing ideas of innate and immutable value. It also belies a belief in a particular understanding of the nature of heritage, which is not necessarily shared across British society. This almost sees the evisceration of heritage, with all ascribed meaning removed. Instead, it becomes a *thing* with significant levels of agency, capable of “... *turn[ing] the trick all by itself*” (Marquand 1998: 10). Through a process of revamping surroundings and creating attractive, new uses for historic buildings, heritage will somehow reinstate and transform the nation’s soul. Drawing on Fairclough (2000: 61), this offers an example of New Labour’s project of cultural governance, which calls for a radical change in the role of heritage without ever rethinking the concept of heritage itself. Indeed, with the advent of ‘public value’, the heritage sphere simply moved from:

... *an agenda focussed primarily on assets (eg species, habitats, buildings, artefacts, collections) (UKHERG 2005: 3)*

to one that:

... *acknowledges that stewardship depends on people and that a well-informed community is more protective of its heritage assets (UKHERG 2005: 3).*

In much the same way as McLean (2006) questions the lack of discussion and research underpinning the links often made between identity negotiation and a



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sense of ‘heritage’, it is likewise surprising to note the strength of commitment to the cultural governance qualities of ‘heritage’ despite the paucity of research in this area.

### *The ‘Public’ Value of Heritage*

Through the concept of ‘the public’, wider cultural policy tropes of instrumental and intrinsic value became enshrined within heritage policy, the dichotomy of which has also found its way into the AHD. Here, the autonomy of heritage and the historic environment, or the ‘arts for art’s sake’ principle (Belfiore and Bennett 2006: 6–7), was coupled with notions regarding the transformative power of heritage.

*... heritage plays an important role in attracting visitors to the UK, but that its intrinsic value also helps to shape and define our national identity, contributing to community cohesion at home and in public diplomacy abroad (DCMS 2006d: 2).*

This is certainly the case in terms of rhetoric, which has seen a major sea change and diversion away from purer economic instrumentalism (Edger 2004, cited in Belfiore and Bennett 2006: 8). It has also become a vibrant discursive marker, as the following quote demonstrates:

*By accepting culture as an important investment in personal social capital we begin to justify that investment on culture’s own terms (Jowell 2004: 16).*

With similarities to Throsby’s (2001) work, we begin to see a distinction drawn between economic and cultural value, with the latter becoming almost a matter of justice, or at the very least, a moral right. As such, notions of ‘public’ or ‘cultural’ value have become crucial nodal points within the new language of heritage, and it is important at this point to qualify these concepts a little further. The idea of ‘public’ or ‘cultural’ value, as something opposed to ‘expert’ or ‘economic’ value, found its first elaboration in *Power of Place*. Since then, in tandem with attempts to modernise the heritage protection process, significant efforts have been made to both define and apply that concept. As yet, such attempts have not found expression in a policy sense beyond those set down in *Power of Place* and *Force for our Future*; rather, they are concepts that animate debates discursively, with little sign of materialisation. The following quote, emerging from interviews conducted for this research, sheds some light on this discrepancy:



*English Heritage has by and large not got a brilliant track record. The language is spoken quite well, but um, making ourselves ... Actually understanding what the community at large finds valuable ... it is funny because sometimes you don't like the answer. What communities find valuable don't always accord with our traditional views ... but until we do that we won't be relevant. What is relevant is what is relevant. If we don't ... we can't make what we do relevant ... we can make it more popular or more accessible or more touchy-feely or more exciting, but it isn't actually necessarily relevant and people will still be uninterested by it. The way that we present monuments is an object lesson in how not to do it sometimes (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005).*

The inclusion of concepts of 'public' and 'cultural' value in this chapter is crucial, largely due to the strange metamorphosis these concepts have undergone as they have passed from academic vocabulary into the policy realm. This change has resulted in a great deal institutional confusion, which will be explored in later sections of this chapter.

Clark (2006: 2) defines 'public value' as follows:

*It starts from the premise that such organisations are there to add or create value for the public, and that therefore the best way of measuring their success is to look at it in terms of what the public cares about.*

In the first instance, I want to draw attention to the beginnings of a discursive marker drawn up around ideas of attribution. As Clarke continues,

*Heritage is very broad – it can cover everything from land and biodiversity, to buildings and landscapes, collections and even intangible heritage such as language and memory. In fact what makes something part of our heritage is not whether it is a building or landscape, but the value that we place on it (Clark 2006: 3).*

The advent of public value sees intangible heritage (language and memory) as an addition, albeit somewhat of a stretch ('even'), to the concept of heritage. Moreover, it allows heritage practitioners and policy-makers to begin to see the idea of heritage as something that is a process, rather than an inanimate object. Heritage the noun is replaced by an understanding of heritage the verb, not as a nominalisation, as we saw earlier, but as a verb that is carried out by people. This re-conceptualisation, while important to note, is perhaps better understood not so much as a redefinition of heritage, nor as a fleeting discursive presence, but as something that stands in opposition to an already established definition of



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heritage. I would argue that it is a response to the questioning of the hegemonic dominance of sites, monuments and buildings – and, indeed, the questioning of many authorising institutions of heritage, in part due to the wider recognition and increasing vocality of critiques of this discourse (cf. Byrne 1991; Sullivan 1993; B. Graham 2002; Waterton 2005; Smith 2006). As such, notions of ‘public’ value have arisen as a counterpoint, or gesture of goodwill, to the more commonplace assumptions of materiality and tangibility.

The hesitancy behind concepts of intangibility, however, remains prominent within the in-depth interview material gathered from heritage practitioners:

*It is just difficult to see how you could apply a convention of that sort [The 2003 Convention for the Safeguarding of Intangible Cultural Heritage] in the UK context ... it is not relevant ... it just does not fit with the UK approach ... I think it would be very difficult to bring in a convention that says we are actually going to list this sort of stuff and protect it. What are the obvious examples you come up with? Morris Dancing? As intangible heritage and so on? (Interviewee Nine, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005)*

This hesitancy is a point that has not been missed by institutional onlookers situated outside of the English<sup>21</sup> system:

*... intangible heritage and indigenous heritage exists all over the world. It is the way they [UK] see their own heritage which is the problem, because they don't consider rituals and traditions, for example, with the mining industry in the UK as being both tangible and intangible heritage – then it is a problem in their own view (Interviewee Nineteen, UNESCO, 10<sup>th</sup> January 2006).*

*Intangibles are relevant to every country – the intangibles are heritage ... that is what heritage is. We have trouble communicating this idea to Western countries who want to see things in a different way. We have trouble with the English, who resist very strongly this way of thinking. They are stuck in their own mindset (Interviewee Twenty-Nine, UNESCO, 13<sup>th</sup> January, 2006, my emphasis).*

Indeed, the distinct difficulty of these notions of intangibility to find synergy with the AHD is explicitly revealed in the following quote:

*And in fact, broadly speaking, you could say that some people's definition of cultural heritage also encompasses museums, and possibly intangible heritage as well. Probably in terms of what we do the historic environment is actually a safer term ... yes, **it is correctional** (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005, my emphasis).*

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<sup>21</sup> England, like many other Western countries, is a notable absentee from the list of state parties who have ratified the 2003 Convention (see Smith 2006 for a more in-depth discussion).



Indeed, the qualification that the safeness of the term ‘historic environment’ as a *correctional* term used to prevent the incorporation of ideas of intangibility is particularly telling.

I do not want to downplay the importance of the widening discourse of heritage signalled by Clark’s opening remarks, but the above quotes, coupled with the proceeding papers, suggest that it has perhaps not extended as far as one might hope. Jowell makes this distinction clearer below:

*‘Established value’ is something on which everybody agrees and which is embodied in the work of the listings and scheduling systems, but there are other, more contested aspects of heritage value such as aesthetic value, community value, evidential value and historical value (Jowell 2006: 11).*

The above statement seems to suggest that heritage, at its core, retains a form that is consensual and universal – a core that is embedded in the designation process. In addition, Jowell offers up what can only be described as a rather strange collection of values: aesthetic, community, evidential and historical. Only one in this list (‘community’) represents something that is not already encompassed in ‘established’ values, as it is aesthetic, historical and evidential values that mark out listing and scheduling criteria. However, if these are additives, one must assume that ‘established’ value refers to something else; and what remains is its assumed physicality. Characterised in a different way, but communicating the same message nonetheless, the following quote signals the disjuncture between established values and ‘public’ values:

*It is our job at English Heritage to make sure that the historic environment of England is properly maintained and cared for. By employing some of the country’s best architects, archaeologists and historians, we aim to help people understand and appreciate why the historic buildings and landscapes around them matter (English Heritage 2003b: 3).*

In this statement, there is a visible construction of a ‘beneficiaries’ role for ‘the public’ as defined by van Leeuwen and Wodak (1999 – see Chapter 3), and a distinction implied between ‘expert’ or professional knowledge and ‘public’ consumption. A strong sense of the assimilatory discourse identified earlier is also prevalent in the striking textual attempt to ‘teach’ people that a particular sense of heritage ‘matters’. What matters, in the above excerpt, is not what people think, feel or experience to matter for *themselves*, but what they are *told* matters.



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Discussions around ‘public value’ were thus suggestive of a hierarchy. Hewison and Holden (2006: 17), for example, suggest:

*There will be occasions when the public interest – and particularly the interests of future generations – will be best served by professionals using the authority of their expertise to contradict the short-term public will.*

This is affirmed in the following interview extract:

*We have administrative systems that help us to prioritise and act legally upon various assets, **and yet** we are also being **helpful** to the general public that wants more of what they cherish to be preserved and enhanced, **not destroyed** (Interviewee Twelve, English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005, *my emphasis*).*

These statements rather obliquely intimate that there are different levels of ‘value’, within which public value has the more limited legitimacy, with future generations occupying the pinnacle. Notable here is the semantic work undertaken by the phrases bolded in the second quote above. The additive contrastive and yet is suggestive that a concession is being made – a concession that revolves around the apparently altruistic extension of English Heritage’s responsibilities towards ‘the general public’. This extension towards they/them (as opposed to us/we) implicitly acknowledges the disjuncture that exists between what is legally considered worthy of protection and what ‘the public’ deem as worthy. Interestingly, that disjuncture is seen to operate around that which is preserved and that which is destroyed. This developing notion of a value hierarchy was explicitly addressed by Interviewee Twelve (English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005) in response to my request for clarification between the terms ‘public’ value and ‘established’ value:

*In a sense, the way the legislation ... er, in the 20<sup>th</sup> century, um ... [we are] starting to create a sort of pyramid of heritage and this [public value] is just another layer of that ... Um, so that sort of, in a sense, is our response to that growing public appreciation of the standing of the historic environment.*

The interviewee also provided a sketch of this ‘Heritage Pyramid’ (Figure 7.2) of values to further clarify the distinctions between those values he was able to identify. To explain each ‘level’ represented within the pyramid, Interviewee Twelve (English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005) made the following elaborative comments:

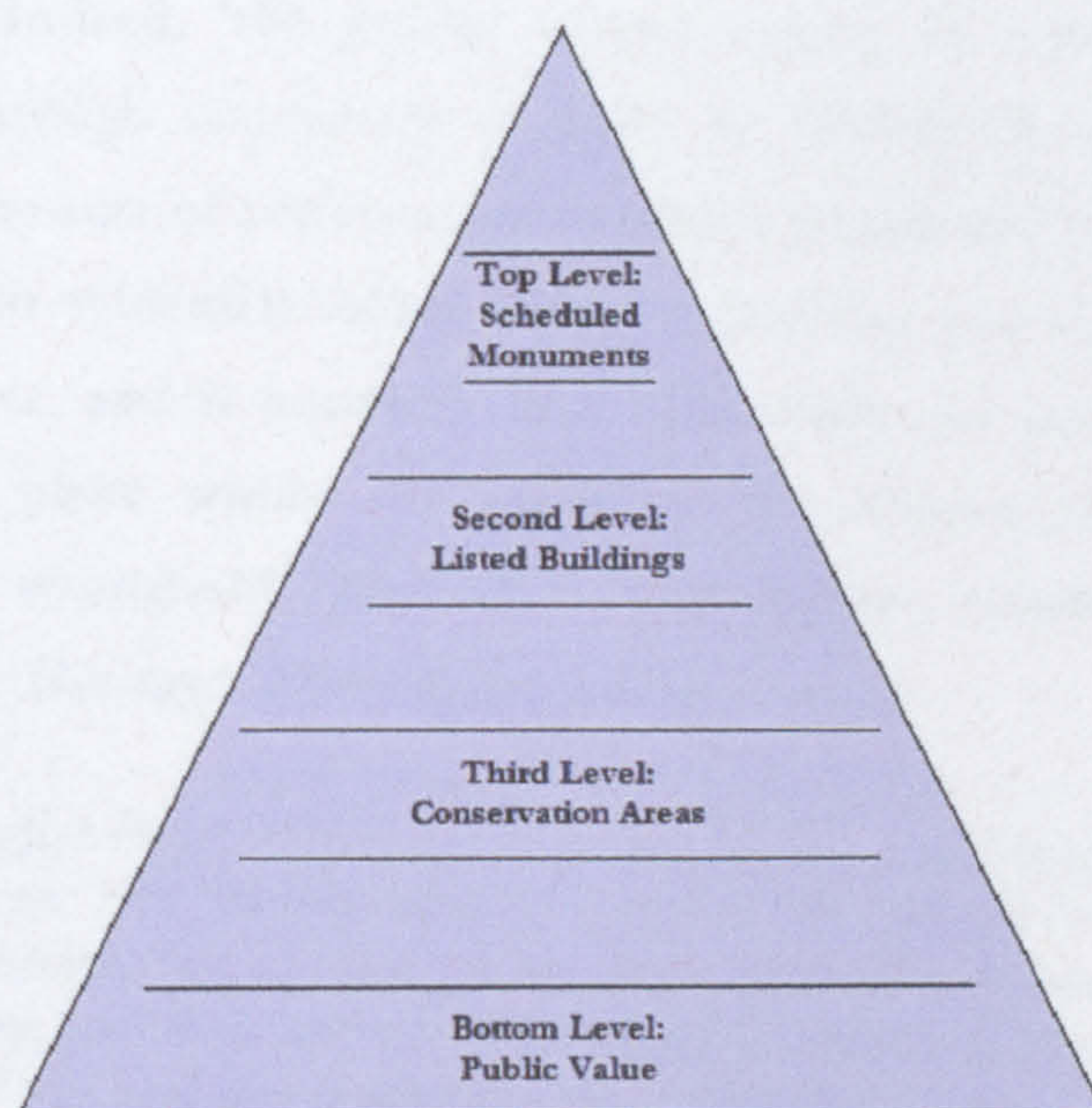
*... at one level you have at the beginning of the twentieth century scheduled ancient monuments, which are the best of the best in the land ...*



*... after the Second World War, and the swathe of interest in private rights and public rights, you had the developing notion of listed buildings ...*

*... In the 1960s you got conservation areas, which was of a lower order ...*

*... this [public value] has come to a head over the pathfinder schemes ... these are not of particularly any special architectural merit, and yet the local population like to live there ...*



**Figure 7.2:** The Heritage Pyramid as Illustrated by Interviewee Twelve (English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005)

As was noted earlier, the interviewee expressed what might be interpreted as surprise at the social values and meanings placed upon, and derived out of, aspects of heritage that exist outside of the AHD. While the experiences of heritage that fall outside of the AHD have to some degree been legitimised here with their inclusion in the pyramid, the conceptual space they have been afforded is limited by their separation from the higher orders of monuments, buildings and conservation areas. The addition of ‘public value’ to the above pyramid once again feels like a concession made by heritage professionals on behalf of ‘the public’ or ‘local populations’. At the risk of repetition, we can once again see a strong characterisation of the AHD at work here. Room is made for present ‘publics’, but these are not the intended beneficiaries of the management process. The reality of present publics and their values are dressed up in terms of conflict, and this is a concept that does not sit easily within policy documents, which by their very nature often take up the form of dialogically closed, promotional



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genres. In much the same way as dissonance and conflict are dealt with (see Chapter 2), 'public' value is also seen as more easily manageable if it is imagined as something that stands outside of established values. In her discussions of measuring value in terms of delivery, Tessa Jowell (2006: 11, my emphasis) pointed out, *"Although our public services are objectively improving, in too many cases the public cannot or will not believe the evidence"*. The notion of public value is thus severely truncated, and does not measure up as an authorial concept within the policy process. Indeed, 'the public' comes across as a nebulous group who refuse, either through conceptual inability or wilfulness, to accept evidence. Perhaps this is the sort of contestation to which Jowell was referring to before in her remarks about evidential values. Here, objectivity and subjectivity are pitted against each other, and it becomes clear that while the latter has found some semblance of a place within the management process, the former has not relinquished its stronghold. This shift was further clarified by Interviewee Thirteen (English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005):

*Really, in effect English Heritage is having to do ... is having to shift a lot more resources into finding what the rest of the outside world thinks is important, rather than us taking a top-down approach. Although going round again, having said that, our research strategy is something very much that we have defined and said this is what the sector should be doing.*

This makes Clark's quote cited above – and I draw attention to the latter clause here (*"... and that therefore the best way of measuring their success is to look at it in terms of what the public cares about"*) – significantly weaker than it at first appeared. The combined effect of the above statements suggests that it is only in those circumstances within which 'what the public cares about' coincides with 'evidence' that those measurements become worthwhile. Here, the legitimacy of the public sees significant discursive slippage:

*I think primarily it is about who defines value and significance ... at the moment that is still heritage professionals, and the debate rages over whether heritage professionals in their roles as employees of a State institution which has...whether that is sufficient to be representative of people's feelings and views about what constitutes heritage (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

This disjuncture between 'public' and 'expertise' is more readily observable in the following transcribed recording for the *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage* conference, held in January 2006 (see also Cook *et al.* 2004):



*Experts have a vital educating and mediating role in developing refined public preferences (Thurley 2006a: 97).*

And,

*The difference is that experts 'think' and 'know', whereas people 'feel' and 'believe' (Anon. 2006: 97).*

It was also observable in the context of in-depth interviewing:

*There are conflicts around that [community-led approaches to heritage], there inevitably are, about what is saved and what is deemed as important, and if we hand over responsibility we will lose things that are valuable (Interviewee Fifteen, IPPR, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

In the above, we can see these institutional roles carved out more explicitly. Perhaps an unfortunate choice of words,<sup>22</sup> Thurley's description of expertise as the *refinement* public preferences through education and mediation draws attention to a collection of antonyms: impurity, vulgarity, coarseness, roughness and impoliteness. Without the requisite tools to 'think' and 'know', the public, along with their unsubstantiated 'values', are subjected to a process through which abstract notions are transformed into something concrete. Indeed, the more vulgar and underdeveloped notions of heritage held by the public are subtly freed of their impurities. This harks back to criticisms developed in the 1980s and 1990s, particularly by Hewison, Wright and Ascherson (see Chapter 2), which were marked by a description of heritage that shares remarkably similar language: vulgar, bogus, brash, unthinking, uncultured and ignorant (for an in-depth discussion, see Samuel 1994, 'Heritage Baiting'). It is not so much that Thurley refers to 'refining' in a policy sense so as to reflect a reality, but that he talks about this refinement in the context of education. Value, for him, becomes a learning exercise that is monological and one-way, a wisdom imparted to 'non-experts' by 'experts'. Moreover, it verges on something akin to social engineering, through which 'the public' have embedded in them a sense of what constitutes *proper* values and sensibilities, or a *proper, established and professionally accepted* platform from which to make proper, established and acceptable decisions about 'heritage'.

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<sup>22</sup> This statement is drawn from the published proceedings of the discussion session within which Simon Thurley made this remark.



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Debates regarding public value have spawned a number of associated research projects within the heritage sector, as various attempts are made to recognise and incorporate 'the public'. Such projects, however, serve only to further complicate and cloud the concept of public value, as the research report produced by the National Trust (NT) and Accenture in June 2006, which proposed a means of demonstrating this type of value, illustrates. In an attempt to move beyond a focus on pure, instrumental value, Neil Burton (2006: 5), Director of Policy and Strategy for the National Trust, utilises the concept of public value as a catch-all, pointing out that,

*The concept 'public value' moves us beyond simple measures of social and economic impact and crude attempts to put a price on and quantify the benefits of heritage. It presents a more rounded approach which starts by identifying the direct benefits to people both as consumers of heritage 'goods' and as citizens (Burton 2006: 5).*

Heritage is still seen as an entirely 'good' thing and as something that is consumed, belying the influence of the marketisation of policy under New Labour. One simply would not *sell* something that was 'bad' or 'unsavoury'. It is also something, this report proposes, that can envisage and encompass intrinsic, instrumental and institutional values, thereby superficially negotiating the divide opened by recent debates:

*Heritage is acknowledged to make a valuable contribution to society through its contribution to national identity and well-being as well as for its intrinsic value and its role in delivering social and economic progress (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 8).*

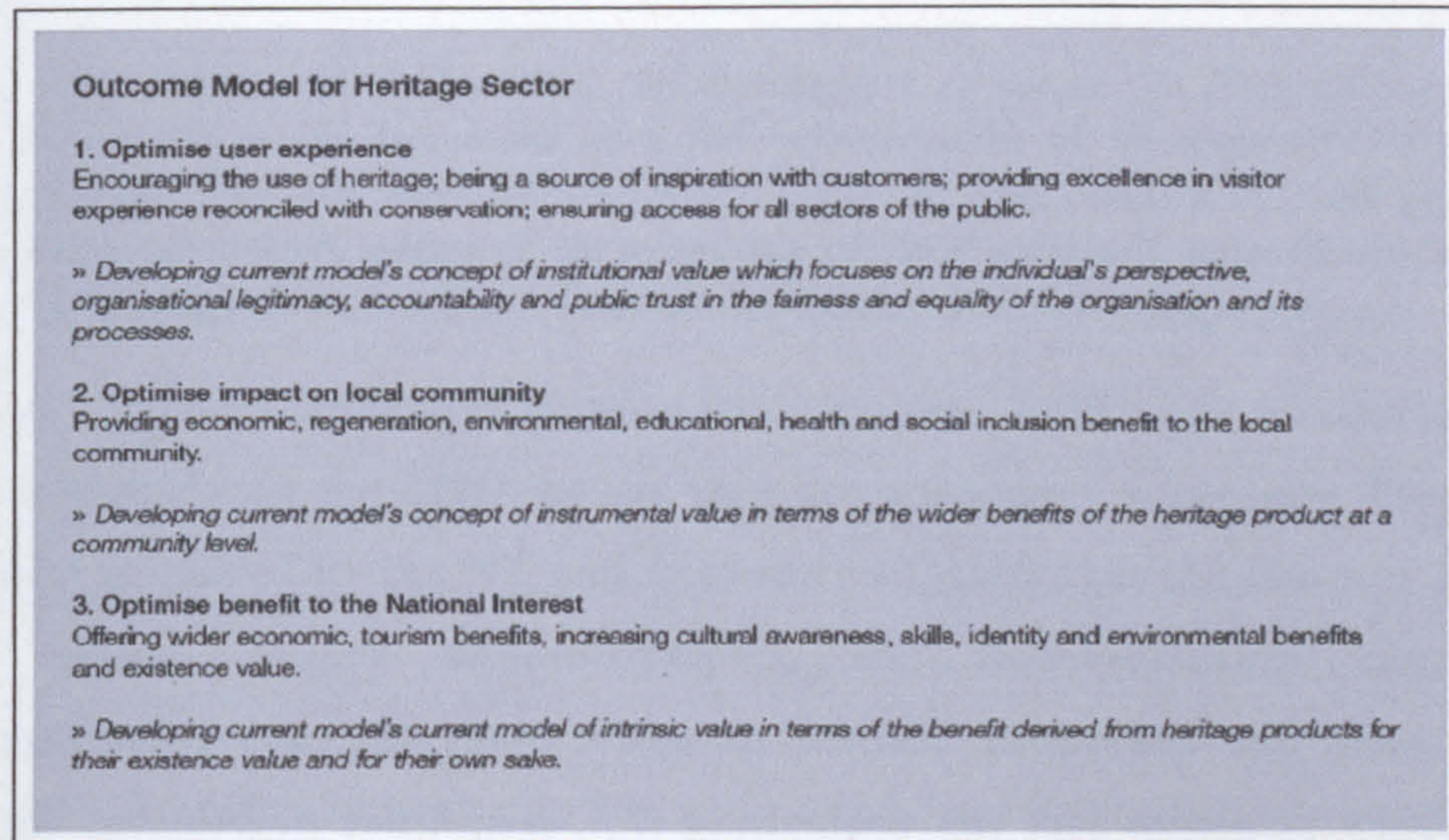
This is a union that has been operationalised in practice and absorbed into the identities of some heritage practitioners:

*... it [heritage] is a cultural resource, um, it has value in its own right, it has socio-economic value, um, it is a tourist attraction, it is an educational resource and for all of these reasons, it is preserved and enhanced (Interviewee Twelve, English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005).*

Indeed, for the NT and Accenture, 'public value' offers a potential solution to many of the criticisms currently facing the heritage sector (Figure 7.3):

*Developed in the right way public value provides a framework for demonstrating the contribution places rich in history and the processes of looking after them make to our collective quality of life. It moves us forward from 'knowing' that it matters to 'showing' that it matters (Burton 2006: 5).*





**Figure 7.3:** Outcome Model for the Heritage Sector (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 15).

Once again, implicit references to assimilation are raised in which 'the public' appear to be a part of a process that subsumes them into a consensual narrative.

Wrapped up in the above utterance is the assumption that there is both a 'right' and a 'wrong' way, not only to engage with 'heritage', but to perpetuate and manage that sense of heritage. Those social values, identities and meanings emergent from the 'wrong' ways of doing things need to be re-framed and re-invoked in a manner that allows them to step inside the AHD. This, the author of the above quotation asserts, can be achieved through a process of demonstrating to, or educating, the masses. Through this process of assimilation, the AHD is granted the performative power to re-invoke and sustain itself, both textually and socially. An employee of the National Trust similarly reiterated the centrality of 'heritage' as an educative tool:

*Our learning vision is one that is community focussed and needs to be if we want to make Britain's biggest outdoor classroom relevant in a changing society (Snowman 2004: 4).*

This sense of assimilation through re-education is achieved through the recontextualisation of 'heritage' into a classroom. Followed through, the concept of 'public value' is revealed to be significantly more vague than it first appeared, and demonstrably shares considerable ties with the assimilatory discourse of social inclusion identified in Chapter 6. Most revealing of this was the failure to invite any 'citizens' to participate in the exploratory work undertaken to develop and utilise the concept of public value:



*After debate and deliberation, the stakeholders agreed on the three outcomes illustrated in the box below as a fair representation of the requirements of citizens and the aims of the sector. Due to time constraints and the pilot/exploratory nature of the work, **no citizen contact was made at this stage** (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 13, my emphasis).*

This, one can only assume, is because those citizens need to be re-educated first, and assimilated into the AHD, before they can adequately contribute. Overall, the document produced by the NT and Accenture suggests that the concept of public value remains largely underdeveloped, and that inclusion can, rather euphemistically, come to mean visits to historic properties and sites. This is explicitly revealed in the Figure 7.4, particularly the last sentence, which states: “Outcomes are increasing at a faster rate than cost effectiveness **thus creating public value**”.

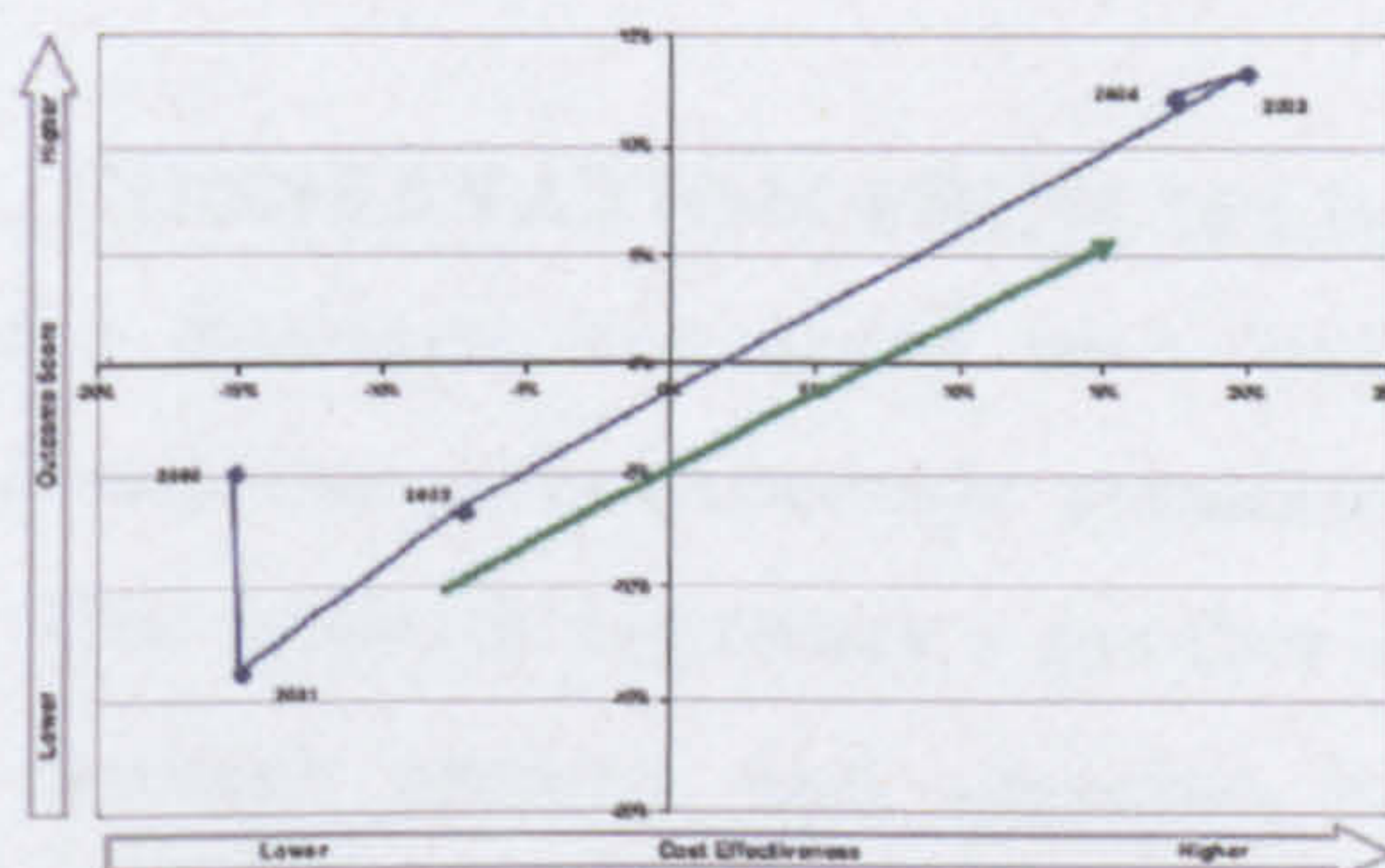


Figure 5. Montacute Public Service Value Matrix

The above matrix can be interpreted as follows and raises a number of issues:

In general:

- Montacute can be said to be delivering increasing public value with the graph showing a move from the bottom left quadrant in 2000 to the upper right quadrant in 2004. Outcomes are increasing at a faster rate than cost effectiveness thus creating public value.

Figure 7.4: The Public Service Value Matrix (The National Trust and Accenture 2006: 18).

In the same genre, the introduction of PSA targets (DCMS 2003e) quite brutally equates visitor numbers with social inclusion:

*There are government targets that are set, like the PSA targets, and my department is one of the main departments in how we meet those targets. What the target says is that up to 2003/2006, we are to engage an additional 100,000 people from black and ethnic minorities, C2, D and E social classes and get them into historic properties by 2006. 100,000 new audiences ... (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*



*Well, you can reduce it [social inclusion] to numbers of non-white people who visit places. It is almost racist. But that is the kind of way you have to do it. And you can do it by economic group. It is terribly crude ... it is the game we have to play (Interviewee Three, English Heritage, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005).*

*DCMS's policies are very much built around participation, so actually visiting heritage sites, which is perhaps, you know, a worthwhile way of looking at these issues. You can count it. You can count it so therefore it counts. Exactly what these measures measure, and what is measured counts ... (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

In these instances, the grammatical metaphors of participation and inclusion, as identified in Chapter 6, are consistently redrawn and crudely reduced to a collection of visitor numbers.<sup>23</sup> Much of the discussion surfacing during the *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage* conference, limited though it was, is lost here, with public value somehow envisioned as an end product of the management process, rather than a central component.

### CONSERVATION PRINCIPLES

The promulgation of a discourse concerned with 'public value' triggered an important chain of events that simultaneously manifest itself in a network of interconnected texts. This network combines a number of genres, including the conferences papers, research projects and speeches examined above, within which the pre-genre narrative of public value is obvious. It is difficult to disentangle precisely what is happening in this mix of texts, as many of the discursive markers highlighted transcend the heritage sector and work for a number of different social practices. What is clear, however, is that a range of policy documents, narratives, arguments and debates has arisen around the concept of public value. In this section, I will examine how this conceptualisation has been incorporated into English Heritage's *Conservation Principles for the Sustainable Management of the Historic Environment* (2006c), itself proposed to link with debates about public value (Harry Reeves, Head of Architecture and Historic Environment, DCMS, pers. comm., 16<sup>th</sup> August 2005; Cossons 2006a: 5). It was also designed to forge links with the *Heritage Protection Review* (Harry Reeves, Head of Architecture and Historic Environment, DCMS, pers. comm., 16<sup>th</sup> August 2005; English Heritage 2005a; Menning 2005: 2; Cossons 2006a: 5) and draw up a set of principles that could adequately reflect

<sup>23</sup> This approach is embedded in the collective of reports entitled *Heritage Counts*, which reinforce the AHD by virtue of a promotional design arranged around the categories of monuments buildings and conservation areas (cf. English Heritage 2003e; 2004a,b, 2005d).



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these two strands. They also carry the intention of re-energising the assumptions embedded in both PPG15 and PPG16 (Cossons 2006a: 6).

Like many policy documents emerging within this timeframe, it is not surprising to see elements of New Labour's discourse of modernisation intertextually incorporated and asserted through the *Conservation Principles*. Primarily, this shines through attempts to rebrand English Heritage as 'modern' and 'relevant', underpinned by democratic and effective foundational principles that find synergy with New Labour's policy agenda. A principle outcome of the *Principles* (indeed, more time and space is devoted to this issue than that of policy outcomes) is the Image Outcome for English Heritage, which focuses upon projecting an image that demonstrates that "*EH is progressing with and responding to the times*" (English Heritage 2005a: 2). The two intended messages flagged up at the outset, which are visible as discursive markers throughout the text, are those of *progression* and *constructive change*. These themes will become increasingly apparent as the analysis progresses. What is interesting about these themes is the juxtaposition they pose, or tension, when placed against the inherent belief in permanence embedded in the AHD. Not only is this contradiction of modernisation apparent in a very literal sense, in the pitching of change versus permanence, it is also prevalent within the genres combined for the publication, which attempt to merge promotion with consultation.

Quite aside from presenting an opportunity to re-examine and redefine the meaning and position of the social problem of 'heritage' in light of public agitation and demand, this project is perceived more as an opportunity to renegotiate the face of English Heritage. It is a chance to invent a 'new English Heritage' (English Heritage 2005a: 4), to claw back a more 'positive' and 'sensitive' perception (English Heritage 2005a: 4) and an opportunity to re-introduce themselves to the 'person on the street' (English Heritage 2005a: 4). The production of a modernised set of conservation principles was, in more ways than one, as much to do with articulating and affirming a new identity for English Heritage. Through the production of these principles, the institution is discursively carving out its own place within the sphere of heritage, whilst simultaneously sustaining a particular ideological understanding of 'the past', in what amounts to a recursive and constitutive relationship. By asserting an identity that is steeped in action, albeit through the rather vague notions of



reform it proposes, English Heritage is attempting to make the implicit suggestion that ‘heritage’ *needs* it. This attempt will be reflected upon as the analysis unfolds.

The document self-identifies with a number of prominent pieces of heritage policy, including SPAB’s *Manifesto* (Morris 1877), the *World Heritage Convention* (UNESCO 1972), *Power of Place* (English Heritage 2000r), the *Burra Charter* (Australia ICOMOS 1999) and the Council of Europe’s *Framework Convention on the Values of Cultural Heritage for Society* (Council of Europe 2005). As such, it is unsurprising that a handful of nodal points, or general themes associated with the AHD, are readily apparent, including notions of inheritance, authenticity, integrity, materiality, cultural democracy and patrimony. The following extract, for example, embeds a high degree of modality, or confidence, in that characterisation of the AHD:

*The ‘historic (dimension of the) environment’ includes all aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time, and therefore embraces all surviving remnants of past landscapes...The seamless cultural and natural strands of the historic environment are a vital part of everyone’s heritage, held in stewardship for the benefit of future generations (English Heritage 2006c: 18).*

*It is the means by which each generation aspires to create an even richer historic environment than the one it inherited, one that will in its own turn be valued by the generation to whom it is bequeathed (English Heritage 2006c: 14).*

Very little has changed here in terms of the conclusions reached in both Chapters 5 and 6 regarding the AHD, in which themes of stewardship, assumptions of permanence and universality, and implied moral obligations abound. Quite simply, the remainder of the document can be seen as an attempt to inculcate or socially *enact* the durability of the AHD within heritage practitioners, owners and policy-makers. As Sir Neil Cossons (2006a) suggests in the document’s *Foreword*,<sup>24</sup> this focus is to be updated with reference to themes of holism, transparency, multiplicity and inclusivity. Indeed, the entire tone of the document might be described as supplementary, a point exemplified by a report outlining the aims and objectives of the Principles (English Heritage, 2005f, EHAC/2005/17E, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2005: 3–4), which suggests it is about providing support, helping people

<sup>24</sup> This, incidentally, is largely reproduced from a report pulled together for the English Heritage Advisory Committee, authored by Fidler and Embree (2005).



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understand, explaining rationale and ensuring consistency. These patterns of transitivity set up the intellectual and behavioural capacities of different interest groups and stakeholders, but make no attempt to scrutinise or assess the nature of value that is actually being worked upon. This observation is reinforced by the following:

*The development of conservation policy and principles is designed to ... enable, reinforce, but not undermine the 1970s meanings of terms ... (English Heritage 2005f, EHAC/2005/17E, 23<sup>rd</sup> June 2005: 4).*

Likewise, the sense of ethics instilled in the document points to a sensitivity aimed at buildings and materiality themselves, rather than human ethics, and a belief in the authenticity and integrity of fabric.

It is interesting to note the continued co-occurrence of 'heritage' and the 'historic environment', woven together above in a way that suggests that heritage is one component, or subset, of the historic environment. Indeed, the definitions included in the glossary to the front of the document highlight this distinction:

***Heritage*** – *All inherited resources which people value for reasons beyond mere utility (English Heritage 2006c: 2); and,*

***Historic Environment*** – *All aspects of the environment resulting from the interaction between people and places through time (English Heritage 2006c: 2, emphasis in original).*

Despite this, and attempts by DCMS to insist that only the term 'historic environment' be used in the final text (H. Reeves, Head of Architecture and Historic Environment, DCMS, pers. comm., 16<sup>th</sup> August 2005), the terms continue to be used interchangeably throughout the text. This confusion was similarly evident in many of the responses offered by interviewees, as well as broader cultural debates that profess an aversion to the term 'heritage' (cf. Humphries 2006). An extended representation of the confusion surrounding the terms and their definition is presented below in an attempt to adequately capture the depths of the inconsistency:

*It is wrong for them to be used interchangeably ... (Interviewee Four, Heritage Lottery Fund, 10<sup>th</sup> June 2005).*

*Um, the historic environment I would say is a sub-set of the wider thing called heritage and the Heritage Lottery Fund seeks to address those wider things which are around collections and intangible heritage. Whereas the historic*



*environment ... the built environment, buildings and landscapes and so on constitute the heritage all around us (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*... the terms are often conflated or you know ... they are not synonymous but they are often used in that way (Interviewee Seven, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2006).*

*I use the terms interchangeably. I noticed the other day when I was writing something that I was using heritage and historic environment interchangeably (Interviewee Eight, English Heritage, 4<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*[long, long pause][blowing of air] I don't know. I couldn't come up with a definition off the top of my head. There is a definition ... English Heritage would argue for a broad definition, that, um, the historic environment is all around us (Interviewee Ten, English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*I mean, in my view it is, to a certain extent, a matter of fashion, and I am not particularly bothered whether we call things heritage or historic environment. It has been felt that the historic environment more accurately captures what we are trying to talk about in a way that heritage doesn't, because heritage has very strong connotations in peoples' minds (Interviewee Eleven, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*We should be using ... no, um, if I use the term heritage then sometimes I am slipping into ... we should be using the expression historic environment. Although Emma, I think sometimes people within English Heritage do use them interchangeably, I think even our Chief Executive has sometimes used 'heritage' on occasion, but I am not sure on that, but we, as far as I am aware, we should be using historic environment now. Because of the connotations of course ... [these connotations were not elaborated upon] (Interviewee Thirteen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

*Heritage seems to be focussed on heritage assets, you know, definable heritage assets, whereas the historic environment is more about the context within which those assets sit (Interviewee Thirteen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

*I personally don't actually like the word historic environment but it has become an acceptable catch-all phrase for us because it defines everything from below ground to the above ground, to the site specific to the landscape context and the broader non-material environment as well ... Heritage has that sort of historic dimension that presupposes that you are actually inheriting something, there is the assumption that you are actually passing things on to future generations. Heritage works in that sense. But they are all interchangeable ... (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

*I am confused by the terms because I use them interchangeably ... I really hate the word heritage, I think it is an awful word ... because it goes on about commoditisation, it is like a packaged thing and it is heritage and we are going to dress it up nice ... I prefer history to heritage ... I have never seen official definitions of the terms heritage and historic environment so I*



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*don't know if they are the same thing. I don't really know. And how interesting that not one of us really knows. We all work for English Heritage and have a statutory responsibility for heritage or the historic environment and yet we don't know if they are the same thing or how they are defined! Isn't that awful? I am sure somebody knows ... otherwise you are going to have started this big crisis in EH (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

The final extract above makes a very revealing point in drawing attention to English Heritage's statutory duty (see Chapter 5) to "... *champion and care for the historic environment*" (English Heritage 2005e: 1). What is interesting about these extracts as a whole, however, is the implicit crisis of institutional identity that permeates each exchange, along with a palpable sense of embarrassment or unease at having to explicitly acknowledge this uncertainty. It is a strange acknowledgement in the face of the 1999–2001 *Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment*, which resulted in the publication of the government's definitive position on the historic environment (Fidler and Embree 2005; English Heritage 2003g).

Much of the text is written in highly modalised language, which adds a significant degree of authority to the overall tone of the document. This 'authority', as Interviewee Ten (English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005) points out, is something that had been lacking within the English Heritage policy artillery, and was an important consideration behind the genesis of the *Principles*:

*It is surprising, but there isn't [currently a unified framework for making decisions about heritage]. There are assumptions that people make, um, depending upon which particular philosophy or approaches they are following, but there isn't anything like that certainly set down by English Heritage that has any kind of authority behind it. It [the Conservation Principles] is a really important step.*

For example, the seven principles themselves are worded as follows (English Heritage 2006c):

1. *The historic environment is a shared resource*
2. *It is essential to understand and sustain what is valuable in the historic environment*
3. *Everyone can make a contribution*
4. *Understanding the value of places is vital*
5. *Places should be managed to sustain their significance*



6. *Decisions about change must be reasonable and transparent*

7. *It is essential to document and learn from decisions*

All but Principles 3 and 5 are characterised by an exceptionally strong affinity with, and/or commitment to, a particular expression of ‘truth’ about the historic environment and what it *is*. None of the principles are subjectively marked, and thus appear to be making statements of truth on behalf of us all – the historic environment *is*; *it is essential*; *is vital*; *must be*. Occasionally, this assertion of ‘fact’ loosens, which is evident in the discussions underpinning the arrival of Principle 4. An earlier draft of the document suggested that:

*Understanding the ways in which people value places should inform all public decisions about how change in those places will be managed (English Heritage 2005b: 1).*

This is mirrored in the principles themselves as:

*... an understanding of the values a place has, both for its local community and wider interest groups, should be seen as the basis of sound decisions about its future (English Heritage 2006c: 14).*

The implication here is that while the ways in which people value places *should* inform all decisions, it is not necessarily the case that it will. Quite how and why those views may *or may not* be taken into account, and who is making those ‘sound decisions’, is not volunteered. The process of *naming* something as ‘heritage’, as identified in Chapter 6, is again an important issue that is left unspoken. This argument was developed further in the second draft:

*Of course, not all of the historic environment is equally valuable or worth conserving; some of it indeed has a negative impact on all who experience it (English Heritage 2005b: 1).*

The idea of worthiness is again raised, which is reminiscent of arguments developed in earlier chapters, and begs the questions who decides, and with what criteria? Here, the inherently dissonant nature of heritage is subjected to a very subtle mutation of nominalisation through the very weak acknowledgement of its existence. Two issues are arresting about this statement: first, the utterance of course is used to convey a sense of inevitability about the decisions made to recognise some things, acts or experiences as ‘heritage’ and some as falling short of that evaluation. Second, that evaluative process is hinged *entirely* upon the idea



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of dissonance, without recourse to the idea that heritage, as Ashworth and Tunbridge (1996 – see also Smith 2006) argue, is *inherently* dissonant. The concept of dissonance drawn upon in the above extract differs substantially from the conceptualisation adhered to by Graham *et al.* (2005) and Smith (2006 – see Chapter 2) in its assertion that dissonance is consensual and as such can somehow be avoided. Indeed, Ashworth's (2002) logic that all 'heritage' disinherits either completely or partially is lost. Moreover, it brings with it the assumption that negative experiences derived from 'heritage' render that 'heritage' unworthy of conservation. By this reckoning, the Holocaust, slavery, massacres and the aftermath of violence are thus by definition struck from the list of those things that can be considered 'heritage'. As such, this very expression of the possibility of dissonance is itself organised and structured by the AHD.

The idea of conflict is touched upon only once in the final document:

*If these responses are potentially conflicting, making the optimum conservation decision demands a careful assessment of the relative importance of each value (English Heritage 2006c: 26).*

It is interesting to note the very obvious lack of agency accorded to this conflict. Indeed, the very idea of conflict is marked only as a possibility (*If*), itself a modalised adverb suggestive of a very low commitment to that 'truth' or eventuality. In the assumed unlikely event that conflict *does* occur, little guidance is offered into how that might be managed and mediated, and by whom. The latter clause in the previous extract *does* draw attention to the negativity surrounding heritage, a novel emphasis in comparison to much of the other documents reviewed so far, which have tended towards the positive (i.e. 'good', 'safe' and 'sanitised') aspects of heritage. However, this novelty was short lived and was removed from later versions. Likewise, the recognition of the "... *value of 'places of memory' with 'negative' values but which should not be forgotten*" (English Heritage 2005c: 2) was also removed from subsequent drafts. This is an observation that serves to underscore the fact that heritage, by necessity within the AHD, is never negative.

It is worth pursuing the idea of agency a little further by examining the textual relationships that are set up in the document, particularly between 'experts' and



‘non-experts’. Statements couched around particular verbs (communicate, understand, sustain – emphasised below) and their transitivity are usefully revealing, sponsoring reflection on discussions undertaken previously (English Heritage 2006c):

*It is in the interests of practitioners to **communicate** the established values of place ... (p. 22).*

*Everyone ... should be encouraged to **participate** in understanding and sustaining ... (p. 22).*

*Practitioners have an obligation to ... **facilitate** ... and **inform** them in a positive way ... (p. 22).*

*Practitioners should ... encourage people to **understand**, value and care for their heritage ... (p. 23).*

*Education at all stages should help to **raise** people’s awareness and understanding ... (p. 23).*

Here, the communication is distinctly one-way, with practitioners imparting knowledge *to* ‘the public’ and ‘people’, in effect offering a metaphorical ‘leg-up’ into the fold. The latter are discursively shunted into the more passive role of audience or beneficiary, with the former activated as subjects capable of (or, indeed, obliged to) *doing things*. The ‘Explanatory Notes and Questions for Principle Four’ go into further detail regarding value and how this may be understood. The value categories identified here are interdiscursively linked with those identified by Tessa Jowell (2006; see page 279 of this chapter) in her presentation for the *Capturing the Public Value of Heritage* conference. Evidential, historical, aesthetic and community values are specifically listed and defined, and once again I draw attention to the fact that the first three of these are a comfortable part of the core assumptions of the AHD, and are therefore intertextually mapped across a range of existing policy documents and Acts of Parliament. This is an important point when read against the following caveat offered by the accompanying explanatory note:

*However, the fact that a place fails to meet current criteria (either national or local) for formal designation does not negate the values it may have for particular communities (whether geographical or linked by a common interest), nor the desirability of taking **some account** of those values in making decisions about its future (English Heritage 2006c: 24).*



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With evidential, historical and aesthetic values already formally recognised in designation and listing criteria, it is only really ‘community’ values that are truly put at risk here, a point further exemplified by the Principles, itself:

*To identify and appreciate those values [associative], it is essential first to understand the structure and ecology of the place [evidential], how and why that has changed over time [historical], and its present character [aesthetic] (English Heritage 2006c: 25, my bolded inclusions).*

A clear hierarchy is established, and it is one that conjures up a dependent relationship, or the *invariance of conjunctures of events* (López and Potter 2001a: 10), in which *x* (associative values) can only occur as a result of, or after, *y* (evidential, historical, aesthetic values), from which one should infer that *y* always causes *x*. Despite overtures to the contrary, the *Conservation Principles* (2006c) appear to remain firmly rooted in established values. Midway through a second process of reform, ongoing some six years after the initial review of policies in 1999–2001, the sector still appears to be simply treading water, rather than actively attempting to negotiate the tensions that permeate the management of heritage. Undeterred, or perhaps unconvinced, by injections of public value and notions of social inclusion, the gap between the rhetoric and practice in the heritage sector remains formidable, if not insurmountable. The spaces for dialogue, wistfully projected by wider discussions of engagement, participation and deliberation are not quite so apparent in reality, where these spaces are heavily mediated by an ‘expert’ and ‘established’ perspective. What is particularly interesting about the shaping of the management process that has emerged from this brief analysis is the synergy it finds with those discourses identified in Chapter 5 through the application of Q Methodology. In particular, the similarities between the discursive markers revealed here and the interpretation of Factor One are striking. Like Factor One, I have revealed that recent discussions underpinning the *Conservation Principles* are formulated around the core assumptions of the AHD, particularly notions of inheritance, patrimony and stewardship, as well as a fixation for the outcomes or outputs heritage management in an educational and information sense. Little attention has been devoted to the inherently dissonant nature of heritage, and a distinct level of ambivalence is notable in terms of the criticisms of power, control and hegemony that plague the sector.



Reflecting back on discussions of Factor One, it is worth recalling the level of uncertainty associated with the need to define heritage or the historic environment, as for that factor it simply *is* – these things are commonsensical and therefore ‘just are’. A similar level of confusion was also documented here. Likewise, tension and contradiction emanates from the texts analysed as its authors attempt to negotiate concepts of sustained dialogue, community/public value and social inclusion whilst also adhering to the more fundamental core assumptions of the AHD. Little clarity is thus afforded to how the convergence of these discourses ought to be handled, nor the implications it might carry for the assumed subject positionings they court. The fleeting glances of Factor Three were not visible in this document, which confines itself simply to the management of heritage, rather than addressing wider social problems.

*The purpose of the Conservation Principles? It is to have a set of clear principles that guide decisions on the historic environment ... what we would like is for those principles to be endorsed by the rest of the conservation community that bases their authority on conservation officers and archaeologists ... (Interviewee Ten, English Heritage, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

*... I think they [the Conservation Principles] in one sense provide quite a clear statement of principle, about new approaches to the interpreting of the past and managing the past and I think that is good (Interviewee Fourteen, English Heritage, 8<sup>th</sup> September 2005).*

What was not clear in Chapter 4, and appears much clearer at this juncture, is that the emergence of Factor One represents a subtle variation of the AHD in transit. As was illustrated in Chapter 6, the occurrence of a more romanticised and seemingly socially progressive approach to ‘heritage’ is provided by Factor One, without explicitly acknowledging the debt it owes to Factor Two A, or the essentialised AHD. This transition perhaps represents what Bhabba (1990: 211, cited in Rose 1994: 50) refers to as a ‘third space’, one that proves particularly salient at the policy level. In drawing in a number of references to key debates in the heritage sector, this document offers a potential site for the debate and negotiation of discourses sponsored beyond the hybridisation of two prevalent discourses. Indeed, while the dominant structures of the AHD are recognisable within its textual elements, the logic of these is at times displaced by a veneer of liberalisation. This veneer, however, is only skin deep, and a closer examination of the document reveals a discursive space that continues to alienate ‘public’ and ‘community’ values.



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## RUPTURING THE SEAMS AND OTHER UNFORTUNATE EVENTS

*We in the Government are being radical. We are reforming the way we designate and protect the nation's heritage (Lammy 2006b: 68).*

The *Heritage Protection Review*, announced by Tessa Jowell in November 2002 and launched by the then Minister for Heritage, Andrew McIntosh, in July 2003 (Porter 2004), was prompted by a desire to create “... *a better system for protecting the historic assets that make this country's heritage so unique*” (DCMS 2003a: 1 – see also DCMS 2005d). For this thesis, it represents an excellent final case study through which to not only explore the longevity of the AHD, but to examine this within the midst of recent debates regarding ‘public value’, and reveal how, or if, this newer discourse is *drawn upon in practice*. In concluding the previous section, I argued that despite the ‘radical reform’ under way within the wider heritage sector and its attempts to integrate a more complex understanding of value into the management process, these discussions have been spurious in terms of actual policy. Perhaps at their most obvious within the *Heritage Protection Review*, these false pretences are an important policy-focused materialisation that needs to be examined.

In 2006, DCMS overhauled its website. The date here is important. One government review of heritage policies (*The Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment 1999–2001*) had been completed and a second (the HPR) was already well under way. Heritage, at this point, was relocated within the wider pages dedicated to the historic environment and emerged from this overhaul with the following definition: “... *properties and artefacts of cultural importance handed down from the past*” (DCMS 2006a). The historic environment, as the catch-all subsuming heritage, was defined to comprise historic buildings, ancient monuments, conservation areas and World Heritage Sites (DCMS 2006b). Twenty-seven years after the enactment of the *Archaeological Areas and Ancient Monuments Act* (1979), the point at which my overall analysis essentially started, the changes in these definitions can be seen to have been remarkably circumspect. In addition to the obvious material focus that continues to dominate, it is interesting to note that these constructions also reinforce the notion that ‘heritage’ consists of those things plucked out of the historic environment by experts as an important inheritance for future generations (see English Heritage 2005d; UKHERG 2005). Indeed, it is only at this point that cultural and public value is seen to enter the equation. Organised in this way, the



historic environment simply and objectively *is*, while heritage becomes those aspects *of the historic environment* that have been deemed *worthy* of positive and protective recognition. This line of argument was also presented in the preceding discussions developed in this chapter, and goes some way towards explaining why those debates animated by concepts of ‘public value’ exist in tension with parallel discussions regarding the defining and management of heritage. Such discussions, it would seem, are only applied *once* something has been ‘objectively’ valued as worthy of protection, rather than as part of the overall process.

What is notable about this emerging understanding of the management process is that with the advent of the *Government Review of Policies for the Historic Environment* (1999–2001), the corpus of ‘potential heritages’ was supposedly broadened, so much so that “... *everyday experiences of streets, buildings, parks, gardens, places of worship, fields, factories, offices, transport, schools, shops and homes registered as an engagement with heritage just as surely as a visit to a country house or a trip to a museum*” (Cowell 2004: 24 – see also Cossons 2005: 2–3). Indeed, “... *even intangible heritage such as language and memory*” (Clark 2006: 2) was supposed to find its way into the definition of heritage. It is therefore with some interest that we see none of those aspects wrapped up in the revamped definitions of both concepts as put forward by DCMS, and questions need to be asked as to why that is.

### *Reforming Reform*

The HPR is driven by the DCMS, but implicates the ODPM<sup>25</sup> and DEFRA, as well (Interviewee Eleven, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005). Like many policy initiatives, it was under the guise of incorporating a sense of inclusion (West 2005: 8), and with the promise of instigating ‘radical change’ (Beacham 2006: 3), that the *Heritage Protection Review* commenced. The review was welcomed by Simon Thurley,<sup>26</sup> Chief Executive of English Heritage, who remarked, “*Today’s proposals envisage a better way of protecting and managing this rich inheritance and taking it safely with us into the future*” (DCMS 2003a: 2), and was promoted as fundamental; an opportunity to “... *unlock the full potential of England’s historic assets for the benefit of our communities, for the economy and for quality of life, education and regeneration*” (Cowell

<sup>25</sup> The ODPM is now known as *Communities and Local Government* (DCLG).

<sup>26</sup> Even in the opening comments offered by Simon Thurley, it is possible to glimpse the tenacity of the AHD. Thurley could be making his statement in the 1990s, as Green did (see Chapter 2, page 34), in the 1980s as Hewison did (see Chapter 2, page 34), in the 1960s as ICOMOS did (See Chapter 2, page 37) and, indeed, in the late 19<sup>th</sup> century, as Ruskin and Morris both did (See Chapter 2, page 34).



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and Kane 2003: 16 – see also Heritage Link *et al.* 2007). At its driest, the purpose of the review is to create a new system for protecting heritage; one that is transparent, open and flexible, and grouped around the priorities of designation, management and regulation (Culture, Media and Sport 2006: 2). Fleshed out a little further, the review process is also about generating a better understanding of heritage, as well as engendering involvement, ownership and participation at community levels (Culture, Media and Sport 2006: 2–8).

*... there has been a lot of criticism of the heritage protection system ... the result of the fact that it was complicated and slow was that it prevented people from engaging with the historic environment. Um, people didn't feel any sense of ownership, they didn't feel they could get involved with the process ... (Interviewee Ten, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005).*

Finally, and perhaps most importantly, on a conceptual level it is also meant to be about reinvigorating both the word itself, and the meaning of, 'heritage' (Hewison and Holden 2004: 9).

The review process has still to undergo a number of stages, with the final phase, the publication of *The Heritage White Paper*<sup>27</sup> and its circulation, due to take place 'shortly'.<sup>28</sup> It draws out of the policy framework developed by *Power of Place* and *A Force for Our Future*, which signify "... the key messages of what government thinks about the historic environment" (Interviewee Eleven, DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005). As Interviewee Eleven (DCMS, 18<sup>th</sup> July 2005) goes on to note:

*... Power of Place and Force for Our Future ... set the context for everything that we are trying to do in the Heritage Protection Review ... What the Heritage Protection Review is going to do, though, is look at how that can best be reflected in legislation.*

The review process began in July 2003 with the circulation of the consultation document, *Protecting our Historic Environment: Making the System Work Better* (DCMS 2003b). The gathered responses to that consultation resulted in the publication of a second document in June (DCMS 2004a), *Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward*. In addition, a series of pilot projects and internal consultations were launched in order to gauge the merits and difficulties of proposed changes.

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<sup>27</sup> The Heritage White Paper is a precursor to the proposed formulation of a Heritage Bill due before parliament in the 2007–8 parliamentary session, and expected to commence in 2010 (Environment and Regeneration Boards 2006: 2).

<sup>28</sup> David Lammy, Hansard House of Commons 16<sup>th</sup> January 2007, c1039W.



Subsequently, this prompted a parliamentary select committee inquiry into heritage policy, announced on 15<sup>th</sup> November 2005, and culminating in the *Protecting and Preserving our Heritage* report (Culture, Media and Sport 2006) and the Government response, *CM 6947 – Government Response to the Culture, Media and Sport Committee Report on Protecting and Preserving our Heritage* (DCMS 2006d). The proposed publication of the Heritage White Paper is intended to incorporate the responses, written evidence and results from all of the above.

With a focus upon statutory protection, the review process accepted the naturalised understandings of ‘heritage’ and the ‘historic environment’ as developed throughout this thesis, and sought to focus upon the processes of designating, listing and registering the various ‘parts’ of the historic environment selected as worthy of protection (cf. DCMS 2003b: 10, 11). The following statement is indicative, and typical, of this limited focus:

*The List<sup>29</sup> would include the most important sites and items from the past, according to certain broad statutory criteria, including sites valued for their archaeological importance [evidential], their architectural significance evidential and aesthetic], their association with major historical events [historical] or because they represent a type of building or social use from a particular period (DCMS 2003b: 12, my bolded inclusions).*

Indeed, this reformulation of separate processes of scheduling, listing and registering different aspects of the historic environment would render the system “... understandable to the public” (Burke 2004: 2). What this focus suggests, particularly with emphasis on the types of value privileged here (evidential, aesthetic and historical), is the continued acknowledgement that the debates regarding ‘public’ value stand apart from debates underpinning the review process. Once again, there is a continued, yet unspoken, distinction implied between the stage at which ‘expertise’ is accepted within the management process and the stage at which non-expertise is accepted. This was reinforced in the consultation response of English Heritage (2003c: 2 and 5):

*English Heritage believes this first part – the designation stage – should be strictly confined to assessing significance against tightly drawn archaeological, architectural and historic criteria.*

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<sup>29</sup> ‘The List’ is the proposed replacement regime for Scheduling and Listing, which will see a simplification of the current systems into one List (DCMS 2003a: 10; see also 2003b).



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*English Heritage believes it is essential that statutory criteria of architectural, archaeological and historic importance should continue to be the sole basis of what parts of the historic environment should be added to the new list.*

While this was mirrored by many of the 500-plus responses received (DCMS 2004a: 1, 2004c: 1; cf. Landmark Trust 2003: 1; Society for Post-Medieval Archaeology 2003: 2; Diocese of Southwark 2003, for example), it was also questioned by some:

*A public debate about designation criteria might be helpful, specifically to gauge the support there is for the inclusion of intangible values, such as the role of a place in memory, in forging identity and in contributing to our quality of life ... (Heritage Consultancy Services 2003: 1).*

*The 'powers that be' should be reassessing their attitude towards the whole question of conservation. The electorate's concern for protecting the historic environment is certainly not limited to the so-called "backward looking precious middle classes". My experience shows that it runs throughout all levels of society, in particular the forward looking majority, who are becoming increasingly exasperated at the pernicious erosion of our local heritage (Moyra McGhire, personal response to the consultation document 'Protecting our Historic Environment, Making the System Work Better, Letter, 3<sup>rd</sup> November 2003: 1).*

This questioning, however, did not materialise in the subsequent document, *Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward*. Instead, a focus on archaeological remains, buildings, underwater heritage assets, landscapes, battlefields and historic areas was perpetuated, as was a belief in the appropriateness of evidential, historic and aesthetic criteria (see DCMS 2004a: 7–14). The singular concession made to this was expressed with such low levels of modality as to lose all credibility:

*... further down the line a full statement of significance might need to be drawn up which probed the item's importance more fully [and] took other specialist and non-specialist and – including community – values into account... (DCMS 2004a: 15, my emphasis).*

The explanatory power of the AHD, and the 'best practice' it promotes, was thus adopted wholesale within both DCMS (2003b) and DCMS (2004a), produced in consideration of the heritage protection system. This was not a variation of the AHD under influence from social inclusion and public value debates, but was the AHD in perhaps its most essentialised form since the 1990s. Much of the textual work incorporated within this review phase reverts back to that characterisation of 'heritage', and further fuels my argument that alternative values are separated



from the process of identifying heritage and are considered in terms of outcomes and benefits only. As the AHD is overtly expressed throughout these documents, I will move away from developing an understanding of *how* it is invoked towards extracting a sense of *why*.

In the Foreword to the first consultation document, *Protecting our Historic Environment: Making the System Work Better* (DCMS 2003b), Tessa Jowell outlined the aspirations and motivations behind the review. Within this discussion, Jowell used a range of pronouns that are particularly revelatory, and exactly how these pronouns – ‘them’, ‘us’, ‘we’, ‘their’ – are related is an important question:

*This consultation paper marks a further step in engaging **wide public interest** in the systems **we** use for deciding what **we** value most in **our** historic environment. The statutes which protect ancient monuments and historic buildings have stood the test of time but they need refreshing (Jowell 2003: 2, my emphasis).*

With this utterance, Jowell begins to mark up a number of choices in relation to subject positionings and the representation of social actors. First and foremost, a distinction is implied between the ‘wider public’ and ‘we’ in the above, with the former mentioned as a noun and the latter (heritage organisation, government, etc.) realised with pronouns. This offers a basic, and quite obvious, indication of the breakdown between ‘them’ and ‘us’. The use of the pronoun ‘we’ is thus revelatory in terms of what Fairclough (2003: 149) labels ‘identificational meaning’, representing the construction of exclusionary groupings. In addition, the pronouns are activated within the statement, while the backgrounding of wide public interest is passivated. As such, the main social actors flagged up by Jowell are those included within the pronouns ‘we’ and ‘our’, which are marked out as distinct from wide public interest. This is also achieved through the use of the word ‘interest’, which evokes distance and passivity, something less personal than familiarity, at the expense of more active words such as ‘deciding’ and ‘valuing’, which are suggestive of a more engaged commitment. Subsequently, what ‘we’ want and believe is translated and communicated in a manner that suggests it is what the ‘public’ want and believe, itself an assimilatory discursive technique (Fairclough 1989: 180). It is directive and signals the parameters of inclusion, which are drawn entirely around what ‘we’ think is valuable in our historic environment. Moreover, the final use of ‘our’ is possessive and is used to demark a sense of ownership and duty, on behalf of those included within the ‘we’, over



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the historic environment. In this utterance, Jowell makes clear that certain heritage professionals and departments operate *outside* of the wider public. At this point, social inclusion becomes a paradox: how is the wider public ever going to be able to join ‘us’ and ‘our’ heritage for the purposes of inclusion, if they are – by default of the AHD – perpetually constructed as existing on the outside? The sense of ownership, duty and the exclusive fellowship of heritage professionals (see Jaworski and Coupland 1999b: 495; Fairclough 2003: 55; Smith 2006: 93), is found replicated on the payslips for English Heritage employees, which read:

*Thank you for helping to protect the historic environment for future generations. Without us, heritage could just be history.*

A second point worth noting in the above statement is the occurrence of this sense of heritage at the banal levels of the routine familiarity of employee payslips. In the same vein as Billig (1995: 93f) proposes that nationalism is discursively remembered in ‘*prosaic, routine words*’ that are ‘*constant, but barely conscious*’, so to is this sense of heritage reinforced and put to regular use. In the same instance, the common values of the exclusive stewardship outlined above are also implicitly reinforced, further highlighting the division between ‘us’ and ‘them’.

Across both extracts emerges an evaluative, albeit implicit, belief not only in the apparent validity of the current system of heritage protection, but in the desirability of that system, an evaluation that is *entirely* discourse-related. To believe in its desirability is to believe in the assumptions underpinning it regarding the nature of heritage. Both the system and AHD are legitimised through implicit appeals to a history of ‘success’. This is a notion supported in wider policy literature, such as:

*The notion of designating and protection features, sites and buildings according to national criteria of excellence or rarity is perhaps the most important set of measures (Sinden et al. 2004: 2).*

This was more explicitly reinforced by the response offered by English Heritage to the first consultation and the response of DCMS to the overall consultation:

*[I]t [the current system] is a system that commands wide public support, not only for preventing the wholesale destruction of our history but enabling many positive contributions to the continuous remaking of our national life. And to our international partners, it is a model: the envy of the world (English*



*Heritage 2003c: 1 – see also Hansard House of Commons Debates, 25<sup>th</sup> January 2007, c529WH [Heritage, Mr John Whittingdale]).*

*Our current system of protection is second to none. If it did not exist, the landscape of England today would be a vastly different, and infinitely poorer one (DCMS 2004c: 1).*

Despite overwhelming support, a review was proposed nonetheless, but it was one that sought to improve (rather than overhaul) existing law in a bid to modernise, while also publicly espousing a belief in cultural democratic underpinnings and making radical overtures towards public value and social inclusion.

*There is much that works well in these systems but taken as a whole the Government believes that there is scope for improvement to ensure the law is fit for purpose for the twenty-first century, with benefits for all those involved (DCMS 2003b: 4 – see also DCMS 2005a).*

The notions of ‘public value’ concurrent with the review of heritage policy do not figure at all within the document, outside of the subject positionings attributed by Jowell in the Foreword. Once again, the government is activated and externalised. This is coupled with the cementing of ‘the public’ as beneficiaries, rather than contributors:

*Any system for protecting heritage must have a respected and robust means of determining what is worthy of protection. To be respected and robust it must use knowledge and skill recognised by others in the field and understood by the public ... (DCMS 2003a: 4).*

The overall introduction to the first consultation document, from which the above comes, displays very strong commitments to a number of truth claims, triggered once again by the modal verb ‘must’. This allows the list the author is forming to take the shape of a sequence of demands, poised between positive prescriptive and negative proscriptive demands (Fairclough 2003: 168). These are not predictions for the proposed system but, rather, are assertions. Within the sequence of demands, the ‘value’ of engaging, enthusing and involving non-experts is reconfigured into a need to ensure they ‘understand’ the process. Once again, the process of assimilation becomes uncomfortably transparent. Through this structuring of the aims of the review, it also becomes clear that ‘the public’ are not expected to participate in the judgement of ‘worthiness’. And by



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worthiness, I do not simply refer to the worthiness of the mechanisms called upon, but the worthiness of what is considered ‘heritage’ in the first place.

Beyond this introduction, reference to the debates occurring in tandem with the review, including allusions to the sacralisation of heritage, all but disappear. To the contrary, the entire review process may well read more like a rehash of earlier reviews of the AHD developed in this thesis, in which concepts such as ‘architectural interest’, ‘historic importance’, ‘archaeological importance’, ‘national importance’, ‘aesthetically rich’ and ‘original form’ (see DCMS 2003a: 6f) were thought to signify the values and meanings of heritage. However, while the two projections of the heritage sector remain distinct, with little evidence of integration, it is still possible to argue that the sector is guided by a hybrid discourse. This hybrid discourse effectively and seamlessly combines the rhetoric and reality of heritage policy in a manner that keeps them parallel, but exclusive, based upon the understanding that ‘public’ value only enters the management equation *once* something has been legitimised as ‘heritage’ through recourse to the AHD. This argument is substantiated by the following remarks made by Interviewee Seventeen (English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005):

*Interviewer: It strikes me that there are two tasks here: one is to market what you have already got, so that new ‘audiences’ are ‘achieved’, but two, shouldn’t you be trying to develop a new understanding of what it is you actually do, what heritage is?*

*Interviewee: Those are two very different tasks and the organisation is really only going to do the former. They will only really worry about the former.*

The interviewee also went on to note that:

*... fundamentally, it [heritage] belongs to everybody and we have a duty, therefore, to protect it ... I actually find it very interesting ... it is about how you sell what you have ... (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

This allows those in a position of power to have it both ways. They can make discursive overtures towards recognising the necessity of inclusion and public value, but these issues are not foregrounded in specific discussions about reforming heritage policy. It is thus an uneasy alliance that does not hold up to scrutiny, and it is arguable that it is for this reason that specific agents, subject positions and representative processes are left vague and unspecified (Fairclough 2000: 25). Indeed, this sense of disjuncture between heritage policy and inclusion



is recognisable both outside and within heritage institutions, as one interviewee working at English Heritage as part of the *Properties and Outreach* section, *Education and Outreach Department* (see Figure 5.3, Chapter 5), notes:

*To an extent it is actually, the organisation being what it is, we are very [...] we are actually very separate, and I actually don't know ... I wouldn't be able to comment on those [HPR and Conservation Principles] because I don't know enough about the HPR ... I know it is happening, but I don't know enough about it (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

Noteworthy, as well, is the discursive texturing of 'education', 'outreach', 'properties' and 'interpretation' within the organisational structure of English Heritage. This adds credence to arguments developed earlier in this chapter, which saw the textual and social melding of inclusion and education into an project that is essentially assimilatory.

The difficulty in analysing this review process thus emerges from this strange hybridisation of the discourses. On the one hand, the sector is rife with notions of inclusivity, broadening the definition of heritage, incorporating a greater sense of 'value' and seeking 'public' approval, but at the same time, it dismisses these concerns in its explicit focus on "... *the current levels of protection for our rich heritage of historic buildings, monuments, battlefields and gardens*" (Reeves and Beacham 2005: 1). Simultaneously, it is welcomed by various stakeholders and is epitomised by the National Trust (2003: 1) as an opportunity to achieve both:

*In particular, it [HPR] offers a much needed opportunity to reinforce the central role the historic environment plays in defining our sense of identity and culture, to recognise the economic benefits that it provides and to challenge the misconception that protection of the historic environment is a barrier to progress ... It is critical, therefore, that the subsequent Heritage White Paper provides more than the legislative mechanics to implement the final reforms and instead sets the historic environment within a wider context of its role in contributing to the equality of life and sustainable development.*

These responses, particularly that of the National Trust set out here, suggest that the review process is not simply a matter of 'improving' the existing system, but engages in a critical reflection of what it is that system is intended to do. It is at this point that the analytical rigour that has been building over the previous chapters all but grounds to a disappointing halt. Notions of a 'modernising'



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system, attempting to negotiate and integrate newer discourses of social inclusion and public value are left with little to work with.

The second document produced within the reform, *Review of Heritage Protection: The Way Forward* (DCMS 2004a) does not read substantially differently to the first consultation document, nor does it house any of the radical rethinking suggested by David Lammy (2006b). Indeed, the discursive markers that animated its precursor remain virtually unchanged, and the contrasting terms ‘historic environment’ and ‘heritage’ are once again renegotiated and accepted. This is witnessed not only by the overt textual focus upon materiality, universality and objectivity, but by the divided structuring of the decision-making process, which is to take a main section, dealing with the ‘usual suspects’, and a local section. Both sections will be identified, managed and maintained by different groups, English Heritage and local authorities, respectively.

As before, the second document begins with an introductory statement that cites the historic environment as playing a ‘key role’, instrumentally promoting regeneration, the erosion of neglect and inclusivity:

*The historic environment brings in tourism to towns, it promotes education and learning, it brings social inclusion and it engages local communities, giving them a pride of place (DCMS 2004a: 4).*

The majority of the remaining text, however, makes little reference to these wider social issues, albeit for a single statement in the concluding remarks of the document:

*The role of local communities in engaging with, improving and enhancing their historic environment has been emphasised time and again by respondents, as has the pivotal leading role the historic environment in the economic and cultural revival of urban and rural communities (DCMS 2004a: 26).*

What this reaffirms is that the AHD has been naturalised to such an extent that it, along with the idea of ‘heritage’ it privileges, does not need rethinking. Instead, it is left, unquestioned, to continually legitimise and frame the narrow experiences, assumptions and identities associated with a particular sense of ‘heritage’. The social work ‘heritage’ is assumed to *do* in terms of economic and cultural revival will, from that point onwards, simply happen. Whether this



happens for a select group of people or for a wider number of the population is not at issue as a consequence of the work done by the AHD.

In much the same vein as earlier discussions, these introductory paragraphs continue to set up a causal relationship that implements a seemingly 'inevitable' direction for the process as a result. Indeed, despite the fact that this represents the second stage of an ongoing process, the language that is drawn upon is definitive and closed, as is shown, for example, by:

*The Government based its final decisions ... (DCMS 2004a: 7).*

*The decisions for change fall into ... (DCMS 2004a: 7).*

*The Government has decided ... (DCMS 2004a: 10).*

In many ways, the consequences of this review programme are a foregone conclusion. There is an implicit anticipation of what the end result or outcomes will be, which works to mask what has already been taken as given. Despite the rhetoric that runs rampant across the heritage sector regarding 'public value' and 'social inclusion', very little is being subjected to questioning and change within the established process of management itself. The nature of the 'historic environment', naturalised as it is, is taken for granted, presupposed and given. It is imagined as problem-free and inherently 'good', and this pressing out of dissent and conflict acts to mark out the decisions following as 'factual' and 'accurate' by overlaying the divergent debates regarding public value with a consensual veneer. The narrative remains vague and positive, thereby downplaying the reality that at one level, at least, the structuring and relationships between the different orders of discourse are under threat (see Fairclough 1996: 81). A crucial part of this process of naturalisation has been the incorporation of a *very* active 'anthropomorphism' (Smith 2006: 91) of the historic environment, such that it becomes personalised and nominalised, externalised and abstracted, allowing people to be marginalised within a process that assumes that heritage *will do the work*.

In an internal report authored from within the Outreach Department at a time contemporary with the initial proposal for a review of heritage policies, the following remark was made:



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*... one of the greatest challenges facing the sector is the perception that 'heritage' is elitist and irrelevant to many sections of society (English Heritage 2003a: 2).*

Two years on, and with plenty in the way of rhetoric but very little in terms of reality under their belts, English Heritage issued the following statement as part of their *English Heritage Strategy 2005–2010* (2005e – see also Impey 2005):

*The historic environment is not an exclusive place, nor is it a kind of reserve to be visited only in our leisure time (English Heritage 2005e: 13).*

*I think to a large extent, the way that we term the 'historic environment' most people embrace anyway, I think it is understandable to everybody (Interviewee Thirteen, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

Despite the wealth of debate, review and consideration that has taken place since 2003, very little has changed since the Outreach Department flagged up its concerns regarding charges of 'elitism' and 'relevance' – very little, that is, apart from the shift in terms from 'heritage' to the 'historic environment'. It is for this reason that I would like to draw this chapter to a close by reflecting upon this semantic change and questioning its wider social impact. The argument I have been developing throughout this chapter has hinged upon these two terms and the ideological strength that has been drawn from their renegotiation and division. I have argued that the idea of 'heritage' identified and legitimised by the AHD is inherently exclusionary, and works to privilege the experiences, values and identities of specific social classes and ethnic groups, a point that was reiterated in a number of interviews:

*... our traditional audience has been white, middle aged, middle class, and we do that audience really, really well (Interviewee Seventeen, English Heritage, 25<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

*... it is white, middle class, Oxbridge educated people ... (Interviewee Twelve, English Heritage, 3<sup>rd</sup> August 2005).*

*... they are primarily the interest of white, middle classes (Interviewee Three, English Heritage, 23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005).*

*... it tends to be more affluent, white, educated people who go to heritage sites ... (Interviewee Fifteen, IPPR, 26<sup>th</sup> August 2005).*

Attempts to instigate a genuinely inclusive agenda for 'heritage', which acknowledges and integrates the disparate ways in which 'heritage' can be defined, understood and valued *should* have been the institutional response to the



recognition of the above social imbalances. Rather than address the complexities and difficulties caught up by the definition of 'heritage' legitimised by the AHD, the heritage sector travelled a more subtle and less effective path towards inclusion, and as a result, nothing substantially changed. The various institutional activities reviewed in this chapter revealed, instead, the enormous amount of discursive work committed to the construction of a 'safer', 'more inclusive' term capable of 'objectively' smoothing over the fissures and fractures that were beginning to surround the established notion of 'heritage' (e.g. Heritage Link *et al.* 2007: 8). Thus, in a discursive sleight of hand, 'heritage' was rebranded and emerged as the experts' selection of *those things worthy of protection* from the wider remit of the 'historic environment'. The remit, itself, however, never changed. The 'historic environment' continues to exist within the parameters of the AHD, and is thus defined by its tangibility and universality. Established criteria of evidential, aesthetic and historic value are still employed to make pronouncements regarding which elements of the 'historic environment' might come to be considered 'heritage' and thus worthy of protection in perpetuity. The process has become a lot more complicated and the professionals working within it have become a little less certain. However, with this broadened conceptualisation of the 'historic environment', coupled with the belief that it is somehow set apart from political, social and economic influences, social inclusion policies became rather more surmountable. Indeed, with the newly coined 'historic environment' assumed to be already 'inherently' inclusive by virtue of its definition (English Heritage 2003d: 75; Thurley 2006b), this means that inclusion projects need only be applied to that point at which the 'historic environment' *becomes* 'heritage'. Perhaps the most fascinating part of this discursive restructuring is that the two concepts inevitably mean the same thing. What emerges from this process as something considered to be 'heritage' is precisely the same thing that emerged from this process in 2003, when the Outreach Department, along with a range of other commentators, noted its elitist nature. This time, however, it is legitimised through an appeal to rationalisation. Through this construction, the authority of the AHD is never compromised, and the process of assimilating 'the public' into that conceptualisation, through education, information and demonstration, becomes a palatable form of social inclusion.



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## CONCLUSION: REVIEW AND REFORM?

*The revolution has transformed our very understanding of what 'heritage' and the historic environment is. No longer do the caricatures of before ring true*  
(English Heritage 2004a: 4).

Six years after the publication of *Power of Place*, and five years on from *Force for Our Future*, the fusion, or restructuring, of the AHD with social inclusion discourses remains clumsy. Indeed, while these two discourses enjoy a considerable level of synchronicity at a macro level, they appear to be marking out their own discreet territories, with a significant *lack* of overlap, at the discursive, or micro, level. This chapter examined the blossoming debates that surround the struggles to integrate these two spheres of heritage policy in England. The disjuncture, I argued, is the perpetuation of a failure to recognise the constructed, contested and contradictory nature of heritage. To examine this disjuncture, this chapter continued to map the development of the AHD, particularly in terms of how it has responded to current debates regarding the notion of 'public' value. An important response established in this chapter was the compartmentalisation of heritage issues into (a) those things that are considered a central part of the process of management and (b) those issues that are redefined as peripheral to the nuts and bolts of management. Debates surrounding social inclusion and public value fall concretely into the latter category.

Indeed, this latter category is the realm within which the majority of debate and discussion has taken place. Here, the AHD has been tested and reformulated throughout the course of debate, and has hybridised to a certain degree with Factor Three and notions of cultural governance. Heritage has become a means to something else, and has become tightly woven into policy agendas that have taken up a distinctive ritualistic edge. It has become a saviour, with the inherent 'good' and 'beauty' of heritage formulated in Chapter 6 and enhanced here, harnessed to wider social policies concerned with the reduction of crime and poverty. In conjunction, this chapter saw a rebranding process that sought to not only re-identify 'heritage', but also market a modernised and corporate identity of English Heritage itself at the same time. Through this dual process, a firmer position for 'expertise' and 'established' value was carved out.



In teasing out this process of categorisation, this chapter is able to make two concluding points. Firstly, as a continuation of arguments developed in Chapter 6, this chapter has argued that the dominant understanding of social inclusion remains one that asserts that in order to achieve inclusion we simply need to fold, or assimilate, more people into the AHD. Indeed, the failure of a range of people to 'make up the numbers' at existing heritage sites, monuments and attractions has become, to borrow from Clarke (2004: 9) a failure attributed to the morally questionable and *wilful* 'self-exclusion' of that range of people. This is because the AHD, in teasing out the new concept of 'historic environment', has constructed a sense of 'heritage' that was inherently inclusive. Secondly, rather than relax the limitations of the AHD, its hybridisation with discourses of social inclusion has worked to achieve the opposite. The separation of debates into 'issues of public value' on the one hand and 'the technical management of heritage' on the other has seen a tightening of the AHD's core assumptions. This is because the AHD is able to negotiate a sense of what 'heritage' *is* within what amounts to a discursive vacuum, and thereby includes the public in those discussions *only* at its end point and *only* in terms of outcomes.



# PART III

## RHETORIC OR REALITY?



## CONCLUSION

### INTRODUCTION

The aim of this thesis was to map and contextualise a range of ‘heritage’ discourses existing within the public policy framework in England. In particular, I placed emphasis upon the nexus of what Smith (2006; 2007a) has labelled the *Authorised Heritage Discourse*, and the pervasiveness of New Labour’s agenda of social inclusion. The connection between the two threw up a visibly uncomfortable point of contention for the heritage sector, which sought to make inclusive an understanding of ‘heritage’ that is, by its very nature, exclusive. In focusing upon the construction of ‘heritage’ operating at that precise point of conflict, my aim in this thesis was two-fold: first, to open up a more nuanced understanding of the AHD, particularly in terms of its mutability across various political and policy framings; and second, to explore the hybridisation of the AHD with discourses of social inclusion, so as to expose the new political language of ‘heritage’ as it emerges. As such, what this thesis has demonstrated is that rather than constructing a genuinely corrective approach for understanding and managing ‘heritage’ – in terms of what it is, what it does, how it is experienced and how it is expressed – a subtly altered conceptualisation of ‘heritage’ emerged, which still very much lies within the parameters of the AHD.

This thesis drew from the theoretical and methodological contributions of Smith (2006), Levitas (2004, 2005) and Fairclough (2000, 2003). Smith proposed the existence of an *Authorised Heritage Discourse*; Levitas offered an assessment of the wider limitations and contradictions of social exclusion; and Fairclough argued for the dialectics of discourse (Chapter 1). These three insights facilitated an exploration of the construction of a distinct articulation of ‘heritage’ held at the core of public policy. Although this discourse was observed to be variable over time and context, a common storyline was, and continues to be, evident at the core of heritage policy. Of interest to this thesis was how this common storyline was



affected by the importation of discourses of social inclusion from wider developments in politics, and in New Labour government. What became particularly striking about the agenda of 'social inclusion' is that it was *not* a trajectory developed organically within the heritage sector, but rather, it was something imposed through a network of social practices, particularly HM Treasury and the advent of PSA targets, performance reviews and 'money for modernisation' alliances (Chapter 5). Examining the point of connection between these two discursive frames was achieved with the utility of three methodologies: Critical Discourse Analysis, Q Methodology and in-depth interviewing. In concert, these methodologies enabled the research to move past a straightforward analysis of 'text' and engage with socio-cultural practices. Importantly, this meant that the research questions underpinning the study ranged beyond recognition of the re-occurrence of particular tropes or nodal points across a number of documents, to include an assessment of what that discursive texturing could tell us about wider social relations. To reiterate, the questions central to defining this thesis were:

- To establish whether Smith's AHD actually exists within heritage policy in the UK.
- To examine a point of conflict, taking as an example the injection of social inclusion and 'public value' debates onto the heritage agenda.
- To explore the hybridisation of the AHD with the ambiguities of social inclusion.

Unpacking precisely what features are bound up in the discursive spaces of the AHD was thus never the end point for this thesis, but rather it's starting point. What have been highlighted as crucial are the social, political and ideological *effects* of that discourse, particularly in terms of practice. The argument I have woven through this thesis provides an examination of what are essentially latent ideological and political attempts to maintain political legitimacy. It has been grounded in the notion of hegemony and attempts to reveal the ways in which 'the excluded' are encouraged to acquiesce to the institutional legitimacy of the AHD. The acquisition occurs on behalf of 'the nation' and 'expertise', and is ultimately guided by the values and interests of the 'white middle- and upper-classes'. While compromises are made during the course of this process, in which institutional responses to popular and public opinion are realised, these compromises are hardly systemic. Instead, the hegemony of the white middle-class is maintained through implicit attempts at assimilation and social engineering, undertaken in the guise of



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education. Indeed, as Gramsci (1971: 350) makes clear, “[e]very relationship of hegemony is necessarily an education relationship...”.

Dissonance is apposite to the argument I have developed over the course of this thesis. This is because it allows for – indeed, expects – reactions to what is essentially an inherently exclusionary construction of heritage. Subsequently, any attempt to shape and market an exclusive view of the past as consensual will be relentlessly contradictory. As was revealed in Chapter 4, this sense of dissonance does not only occur outside of, or in reaction to, the AHD, but occurs within it as well, particularly as it adjusts to the colonisation of social inclusion discourses. In these internal instances, the core assumptions, while subtly downplayed, remain intact and are institutionally drawn upon to sustain its elitist and exclusionary nature. While dissonance is relevant to heritage studies for many reasons, I chose to focus on the *internal* points of conflict, contention and discomfort associated with the institutionally embedded drive for ‘social inclusion’. I have therefore not attempted to examine the dissonant views or expressions of heritage formed outside of the AHD, but rather have sought to keep the focus of my analysis squarely upon the nuances of the AHD itself.

## **UNDERSTANDING HERITAGE POLICY**

The overall aim of this concluding chapter is to discuss the nuances and variations of the AHD, and propose a wider understanding of what this means for the problem of social exclusion. To do this, I will examine the arguments that emerged from the case studies thematically, beginning with (1) the Essentialised Construction of ‘Heritage’; (2) Possessive Heritage; (3) the Nominalisation of Heritage; (4) Heritage Reborn; and (5) the Passivity of the ‘Heritage Audience’. These themes, as I will demonstrate in this chapter, capture the discursive shuffling of the heritage sector as it seeks to come to grips with social inclusion and what it means, snatches of which were captured in the methodological interpretations of Chapter 4. Although admittedly simplified here, these themes collectively offer an illustration of the stages through which the heritage sector has progressed in a process of hegemonic re-identification. While this analytical device offers the appearance of a linear progression, this was never quite so straightforward in reality. Indeed, the relationships between each ‘stage’ are complex, multi-faceted and dynamic, as each incorporates and legitimises the others in various combinations. This is an important point, as the processes



reworked in this chapter have continually undergone a process of creation and recreation in response to the changing needs and interests of dominant social groups. Principally used as a structure from which to hang the argument developed in this thesis, these 'stages' illustrate in finer detail the ideological and political underpinnings guiding the linguistic rebranding of 'heritage' into 'the historic environment'. In doing so, they also help demonstrate the negotiations of institutional identity, the construction of narratives of nationhood and class, and the muting of cultural difference and plurality in a bid to maintain the hegemonic power to manage and regulate 'heritage' held by English Heritage and DCMS.

*The Essentialised Construction of 'Heritage': The AHD Revisited*

Mapping the existence of Smith's AHD within heritage policy proved relatively straightforward. It emerged as a concrete product not only of CDA, but as a strong interpretation within Factor Two A in the Q study as well. Likewise, it held a clear and explicit resonance with responses gleaned during in-depth interviewing. A number of core features were extracted at the initial stages of the thesis (Chapters 2 and 4), and were used as reflective points throughout each stage of the analysis, particularly those characteristics emerging from the Q study. These core features revolved around tendencies towards an identification with 'the nation', a fetishisation of the physical survivals of the past, a belief in the privileged position of 'the expert', and an appeal to the artistic endeavours of 'aesthetic' and 'beauty'. Each assumption is intricately bound up with the others, thereby constructing a particularly robust and enduring image of 'heritage'. Notions of 'blood', 'the nation' and 'homelands' all speak subtly of the need to feel included within an imagined community, within which the fabric of monuments, sites and buildings came to provide the *real* and tangible markers of the imaginative bond used to legitimise narratives of the nation. These physical survivals reinforce not only a belief in the innate value assembled within the fabric of *things*, but also underpin the sense of crisis drawn upon to legitimise a particular course of action. If the value of 'heritage' is captured within the tangible and monumental, the additive clause that it is fragile, finite and non-renewable brings with it an inevitable sense of threat in such a rapidly-changing world. A number of aestheticising tendencies are also prevalent within the AHD, lingering from the influences of romanticism. While an early obsession with death, decay and corruption has been lost (Chapter 2), a belief in the beauty, magnificence and tranquillity of heritage remains, and draws parallels with the expectations of High Art.



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Tangled up in these notions of nationalism, aesthetics and tangibility is an appeal to tradition, longevity and inheritance, which themselves sponsor a propensity towards patrimony. In this texturing, 'heritage' becomes something that is *given* and *received*, handed on from generation to generation in a ritualistic practice that is underpinned by moral obligation and a duty of care. This sense of continuity sits in conjunction with the trope of 'the imagined community', and draws with it a paternalism that presupposes experts in a position of power. Heritage thus becomes something old, beautiful, tangible and of relevance to the nation, *selected* by experts and *made to matter*, not simply because of the position of power held by experts, but also because of a paternalistic belief in educating and informing the public. These core features emerged from, and continue to privilege, the cultural symbols, experiences and understandings of the white middle- and upper-classes.

This storyline developed in the 1970s, and was traced across the 1980s, 1990s and into the present. The desire to preserve an authentic representation of the past was reinforced by concerns regarding the malleability of 'heritage', which was particularly influential during the 1980s (Chapter 2 – see also Factor Three in Chapter 4). Increased commoditisation and popularisation of the past brought with it a new dimension to 'heritage'. At this point, it also became something a little more slippery, and the boundaries between an authentic and worthwhile 'past' had to be more carefully guarded against its more corruptible underbelly. Here, however, this sense of crisis moved on from a fear of physical destruction to include the symbolic degradation of the assumed authenticity of 'heritage'. The policy documents analysed in Chapter 5 explicitly represented and maintained the authority of the AHD. However, with the advent of the 1999–2001 *Government Review of Policies Relating to the Historic Environment*, a comprehensive change to the limited 'heritage' focus encapsulated in policy was sought. The heritage discourses utilised to mediate and arbitrate the management process *at this point* were argued to have changed in a bid to become more inclusive and responsive to cultural plurality and difference. The analysis of a range of documents emerging from the heritage sector post-review (Chapters 6 and 7) offers a different picture. Instead of a radical recreation of the management process, what transpired was a convoluted process of small changes that actually masked the implicit course of resistance mapped within the AHD.



*Possessive 'Heritage'*

A distinct theme emerging across each chapter in Part II was that of possession. Likewise, notions of ownership and requisite responsibility were also evident from the outset, and became explicitly bound up with notions of expertise. Although originally an overt acknowledgement (Chapter 5), tied as it was to notions of patrimony and inherent value, appeals to 'ownership' and the pronouncements of experts visibly softened with the advent of social inclusion and public value (Chapters 6 and 7). As time progressed, the privileging of particular types of knowledge and assumptions of disciplinary ownership became more fluid, but at the same time less obvious. With *Power of Place* and *A Force for Our Future*, for example, the mediation of the relationships between heritage and identity occurred at a far more abstract level, at which point the lines of possession and ownership often drawn upon were implied, rather than asserted. As well, this sense of confusion was mapped within the subtle disjuncture between Factor One and Factor Two A. Despite this, a sense of expertise and ownership was retained nonetheless, and was orchestrated through the trope of 'identity' and the binary constructions of 'us' and 'them', 'ours' and 'yours'.

Three particular categories of ownership were carved out in Part II, each of which had synergy with the others. These dominant categories of 'heritage' once established, were seen to operate at the level of 'the nation', 'the expert' and 'the white middle- and upper-classes'. Quite how the links between 'heritage' and these categorisations are imagined to be in practice is never established, but they nonetheless remain significant. Indeed, they have become naturalised identity groupings held in place by the politically and culturally potent construction of 'heritage' identifiable within policy. The primary category emerging from Chapters 5–7 was that of the 'nation', through which conceptualisations of an inclusive 'us' were proposed. In these instances, the melding together of 'us', 'Englishness' and 'heritage' bore out a distinct structuring of the management process and presentation of 'heritage'. Monuments, grand houses and archaeological sites demonstrative of significant time-depth were signified as those aspects of 'heritage' capable of constructing the narrative of an illustrious 'golden age' for the nation. Attempts to consciously design and articulate the nation's history and past meant that only those aspects of 'heritage' attributed with significance and relevance at the national level could be included in the official corpus of 'heritage'. Stately homes, fortified palaces, ecclesiastical buildings, prehistoric, Roman and



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medieval sites, battlefields and dramatic ruins have thus come to provide “...*the full historic panoply*” (English Heritage 2004d: 7). Fixed within the forefront of management processes and policy, this limited collection of tangible objects consolidated into a form of commonsense regarding national identity (Edensor 2002: 113). In these traditional forms, the full spectrum of ‘heritage’ is imagined in iconic form, and rarely – if ever – is seen to mingle with alternatives, such as sub-national constructions. Instead, it is authoritative and exclusive, and makes little mention of advances made in identity politics (see Edensor 2002). The value of the aesthetic was also woven into this identity category, alongside historical and evidential value. All three were utilised to enhance the assumed need for ‘proper’ care and expertise in order to demonstrate – beyond the boundaries of the nation – the ability of the ‘English’ to care for and maintain their heritage. Management thus become a vital platform for the identity of the nation, as was demonstrated in Chapter 6.

Only a small step was needed to intricately link the process of national identity formation discussed above to the trope of ‘expertise’, the second possessive identity category formally constructed in the policy documents. In Chapters 6 and 7, the frequency of this linkage between ‘our heritage’ and an institutional identity was seen to increase, and arose in tandem with the active pursuit of consensus and consent. This was particularly noticeable in the general introductions or Forewords to public policies offered by Tessa Jowell, Sir Neil Cossons and Simon Thurley. It was also a continually reoccurring trope called upon in interviews undertaken with English Heritage employees. It is thus pertinent to point out that it is precisely this collection of people who have the most at stake should this privileged position of ‘the expert’ be dismantled. Underpinned by a desire to eliminate conflict, a suite of experts were instead called upon to extend proper and immaculate *care* to a fragile and non-renewable sense of ‘heritage’. Once again, the motif of ‘crisis’ is revealed as doing important identity work, which is intertwined with the repeated notion of ‘crusade’. Here, those crusaders ‘saving’ heritage *for* future generations through the extension of proper care are cemented in place by a very strong characterisation of moral obligation. This positioning affords those legitimised as ‘experts’ privileged intellectual and physical access to a range of heritage debates. In reality, the crusaders are inevitably heritage organisations and a collection of disciplinary groups, including archaeology, history and architecture. Individuals and the homogenous ‘public’ are rarely acknowledged as engaging in any active type of



preservation, protection or conservation. Again, a singular and overarching identity is under construction, but this one works along different lines of 'them' and 'us'. *Likeness* along social and cultural lines was not sought at this stage, but rather, a desire to extract a knowledgeable 'frontline' was the ultimate aim. This 'frontline' was continually remade and enacted within the policy documents analysed, allowing the institutional identity of English Heritage to establish itself in the position of 'spokesperson' for heritage on behalf of the nation. It was a persuasive and covert attempt to sustain the claims of the AHD through the subtle manufacturing of subject positionings in which a niche for the 'caretakers' or 'stewards' of *the* past belonging to an imagined, national community was carefully carved out.

Linked to this idea of possession is the discursive restructuring of 'heritage' into a commercial product or asset to be bought and sold, which further magnifies the role of English Heritage as the 'natural' owners of the past. One cannot sell what one does not own. Reformulating the roles of present generations into 'audiences', 'visitors' and 'consumers' categorically reinserted them into the management process as part-and-parcel of the end product, or outcome, as recipients and benefactors. Moreover, the recipient role was envisaged specifically in terms of cultural governance, through which people are instructed and educated, taught and shown. To bolster this discursive move, attempts were made to mask conflict and eradicate uncertainty, often achieved through the highlighted correlations between lists of heritage 'assets' and an appearance of consensus. The listing of heritage assets was a persuasive technique drawn upon time and again, as we saw not only in the Working Group discussions for *Power of Place*, but in the more recent *Heritage Protection Review* as well. This logic of appearance was utilised to legitimise the institutionally embedded notions of 'our heritage' and 'the heritage' in the singular. An implicit belief in the homogeneity of 'heritage', linked to the static divisions of identity between 'the nation', 'experts' and 'the public', belies the beginnings of an inclusionary discourse that is inherently exclusionary. Fear of dissonance and an apparent desire to obfuscate any attempts to construct a range of identities *within* the discursive grouping of 'the nation' acts as a potent indication of an attempt to assimilate.

The third category of ownership and possession visible across the documents analysed, which ties in more obviously with the historical associations of the AHD,



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is the self-conscious construction of 'heritage' in the image of white middle- and upper-classes. An explicit rejection of the lower classes senses of 'heritage' (Chapter 5) clearly marks out the exclusionary boundaries of the appeal to act on behalf of an ideologically closed construction of 'the nation'. Sometimes explicit, as was the case with parliamentary debates regarding what should and should not be included as 'heritage' (Chapter 5), and often more implicit (Chapter 7), this imposition between the assumed symbolic values of 'heritage' relevant to different social classes was reoccurring across Part II. This is not a vision of 'heritage' capable of accommodating multiculturalism or critical class commentary. This rejection of heritage experiences that fall outside of those routinised and maintained within the parameters of the AHD is also a rejection of heritage experiences that do not share the same social and cultural markers of 'aesthetics' and 'beauty'. Without drawing attention to the starkly contrasting experiences and expressions of social and economic inequity, for example, the appearance of consensual heritage may be maintained. Indeed, if the parameters for comparing and contrasting the past experiences of a range of social groups are not made available, then they are less likely to be critically examined and questioned in the performances of heritage use (see Smith 2006).

The sense of possession discussed above was strikingly demonstrated by the language choices employed within the documents analysed in this thesis. As has already been discussed, the rather overt usage of 'our' signified who could possess 'heritage', which lay with the abstract category of the nation, the less abstract white middle-class, and the most concrete category in practice, 'expertise', or more specifically, English Heritage. While this was asserted quite explicitly at times, it was also teased out of syntactical, lexical and grammatical choices made in the text. Particularly, moral evaluations ('for future generations'), in tandem with a selection of modal verbs ('will have', 'must have', 'it is' and 'need'), implied the obligation English Heritage had to act on behalf of the 'public'. The texturing together of a range of obligatory modalities, modal verbs and instrumental evaluations closes down the room allowed for debate, dissonance and contestation. Negotiations regarding what 'heritage' is and what it is not, how it is to be managed and by whom, are not allowed the conditions within which to be heard beyond the parameters of 'the expert'.



*The Nominalisation of 'Heritage'*

Discourse, in itself, does not *do* things, nor can it, as Richardson (2007: 29) makes clear, "...*alter the course of society*". Likewise, 'heritage' as a discursive construction imagined by the AHD, does not *do* things or alter the course of society. Despite this, the nominalisation of 'heritage' was an important and reoccurring strategy drawn upon within the policy documents as a means of reinforcing and sustaining the AHD. It was also a characteristic that was flagged up in the initial Q exercise with the emergence of Factor Three. In these instances, particular verbs were built up into nouns, and processes were recast in such a way that participants were omitted from such processes. In terms of the nominal grouping for 'inclusion', 'heritage', the noun, is instated as the 'head', or key member, of the group (Bloor and Bloor 2007: 186). Within this grammatical unit, 'heritage' is further classified as something that inspires participation, education and information (Chapters 6 and 7). As further participant classifications are seldom triggered within these processes, we are left to assume that 'heritage' achieves these things of its own accord. It is pertinent at this point to draw attention back to the assumed materiality of 'heritage' established across Chapters 5–7, and examine the tension this triggers when utilised in tandem with the strategy of nominalisation.

Nominalising 'heritage' as a strategy was not always apparent in the documents included in Part II, and indeed, was infrequently encountered in those considered in Chapter 5. This slowly intensified across the documents utilised in Chapter 6 and became a prominent persuasive technique identifiable across the range of documents drawn upon in Chapter 7, and was utilised in a way that bordered on fetishism. This was particularly apparent in the *Memorandum Submitted by DCMS* (2006c) to the Select Committee for Culture, Media and Sport. This process of constructing an active role for 'heritage' is a complementary extension of the diminished role afforded to the public, which will be discussed below. Indeed, it works to *reinforce* that diminished sense of agency on the part of people. It is thus a continuation of the emerging picture of a people-less-heritage, and reaffirms the extent to which people, as 'the public', community groups and individuals, are incorporated into the management process and subsumed beneath the primary identity of heritage institutions and 'the nation'. The visual imagery included in documents *Power of Place* (English Heritage 2000r), *A Force for our Future* (DCMS 2001a) and *People and Places* (DCMS 2002a) reinforced this notion of a people-less-heritage (Chapter 6). This process began with the restructuring of people as



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inheritors, audiences and beneficiaries, roles in which the subject is rendered passive. The emotional responses, personal engagements and embodied experiences with heritage revealed through Factors Two and Four and discussed in Chapter 2 are downplayed and ignored.

This theme, or stage, is an immensely important one, as it acts as a legitimising intermediary between the theme of identity already discussed, and re-birth of heritage as 'past', 'safe' and 'good'. Critically examined in Chapter 7, this mid-point was revealed as the precise instance within which the distancing of people from 'heritage' is naturalised, and the *moment* of social inclusion becomes irreversibly harnessed to the materiality of 'heritage' itself. This was particularly apparent in both the *Conservation Principles* (2006c) and the *Heritage Protection Review* documentation, in which 'heritage' and the 'historic environment' were hailed as the arbitrators or providers of inclusion. This is a convenient and self-conscious manipulation of the situation, in which *things* and inanimate objects – not in themselves capable of actively *being* racist, classist or discriminatory – are pushed forward as markers of inclusion. They do not 'have' and they do not traditionally 'do'. However, if inclusion is explicitly tied up with the apparent actions of an inanimate object, the logic follows that issues of race, ethnicity and class will disappear. If the complexity wrapped up in *how* 'heritage' is identified, performed and explored *by* people can be overridden, so too can the differences of opinion expressive of diverse social groupings be consciously ignored.

In tandem with the association of inclusion with inanimate objects, rather than the more complex arena of social, economic and political experiences of people, the notion of 'heritage' as *received* offers a continuation of the heritage industry's assumption of the 'dupability' of people. If the work of inclusion is seen to operate as an extension of 'heritage' itself, the role of people is further diminished. Not only are people external to the negotiation of inclusion, they are understood to be unthinking dupes without the sophistication to question and challenge received explanations and assertions, not only of 'heritage', but of inclusion, as well. If a collection of sites, monuments and buildings are signalled as 'inclusive', a full range of consumers and visitors, the logic asserts, will enter those sites and properties in a bid to overcome exclusion and feel included. What is particularly striking about this arrangement is that 'heritage' itself is granted more power to act, do and make things happen than are people. In a strange twist of



instrumentalism, 'heritage' is granted the power to *do* good, rather than simply *be* good. This outcome is important, as the associated notions of cultural governance and therapeutic inclusion are seen as a provision of 'heritage'. It is not simple participating *in* heritage that will sponsor such results; it is 'heritage' itself. By extension 'heritage' will provide well-being, welfare and identity. Moreover, it will reduce crime, poverty and exclusion (Chapter 7). Exactly how it will achieve these things, and for whom, remains unsaid. Indeed, the wider power afforded to 'heritage' as the head of a range of nominal groupings is never established, which only adds to the magical qualities associated with heritage. It is transformative, enchanting and renewing, but we never know quite *how*. This reinforces the sense that *all* heritage experiences occur at a distance, and are never undertaken with those things that are familiar or banal. Regardless of those more familiar, everyday experiences and events that are consciously wielded as expressions of a multiplicity of identities, there remains an overwhelming emphasis on the spectacular and the distant past. Indeed, it is the exceptional, the beautiful and the interesting that are appealed to and included in the management assumptions and practices of English Heritage and DCMS. An unpleasant corollary implicit in this rendering is the assumption that a failure to recognise this transformative power of 'heritage' is tantamount to committing society to a future of vandalism, poverty and ignorance.

'Heritage', as a central participant within the heritage process is granted power than extends beyond "...*the realm of human agency*" (Potter 1996: 150), and associates very closely with the vision of 'heritage' animating Factor Three. Indeed, this process of nominalisation has useful implications for the instrumentality of 'heritage'. The two concepts are very closely aligned, and contribute significantly to the anthropomorphism explored in Chapter 7. The impersonality of the process, in tandem with this very strange animation of inanimate objects, is contradictory, yet effective. Subsequently, 'heritage', already granted the metaphoric power to act, is recast in policy documents as having precisely that role in reality.

#### *Heritage Reborn: "Fraud Mingled with Awe"*<sup>30</sup>

In Chapter 7, the assumed ritualising and enchanting nature of 'heritage' was introduced into the policy sphere in a subtly altered framing of instrumental policy. In tandem with Røyseng's (2006) notion of ritual cultural policy, this new slant to instrumentalism was traced through tropes of 'wellbeing', 'amelioration',

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<sup>30</sup> Wiener (2003: 130)



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and 'transformation', in which heritage was re-imagined as a life-giving source that moved beyond the intrinsic and elitist values epitomised in the 1970s and 1980s, emerging as something extolled for being "...*inclusive, not exclusive*" (see Heritage Link *et al* 2007: 8). However, like all forms of magic are said to be (Wiener 2003: 129), this re-characterisation of 'heritage' was perhaps something more akin to a discursive sleight-of-hand. In connection with the nominalisation of 'heritage', a desire to re-identify and re-characterise 'heritage' as something good, safe and pure became a forceful strategy in the process of instigating inclusion, a point reiterated by Cossons (2004), Jowell (2005a) and Lammy (2006a) (Chapter 7). To this point, the AHD was seen to have undergone a series of subtle changes in an attempt to mediate the colonisation of the heritage sector by discourses of social inclusion, but this became more overt in these later attempts to recast 'heritage'. Within this theme, those collections of sites, monuments and buildings previously tagged with a label of elitism were re-branded as the 'historic environment' – something that is seen to be all-encompassing and all-including. Importantly, this new categorisation is explicitly constructed in the singular. It is always *the* historic environment. There is only one of them, the definite article asserts, and that single conceptualisation is so broad and so encompassing, it arguably includes *everything*, or so the logic goes. Beneath the overt, political power that enabled the change in name, is the lingering covert power tangled upon with the ideological work this label of the 'safe' historic environment does with regard to class, race and ethnicity issues. Indeed, significant power is involved in the maintenance of this construction, which continues to prioritise a particular social group. In much the same way as conflicts and contestations have been demonstrably teased out of the management process in an attempt to assert a singular, consensual and national identity, this dissonance is obfuscated as part of an overarching desire to promote a sanitised past. However, in promoting a 'safe' past, actors within a range of heritage organisations validate the need to firmly relegate 'heritage' to the past, at a distance, or 'back there' (Urry 1996: 148), where it might remain free from present conflicts over meaning. In accepting the malleability of 'heritage', moves towards a form of cultural governance *through* 'heritage' require a concerted effort to harness this malleability for good. The corollary, of course, is that without this intervention, 'heritage' *could* be used for more sinister ends. This reinforced the discursive need to focus solely on the tangible manifestations of the past, and ignore the more slippery are of intangibility, which is dismissed as irrelevant because of its connotations with the present. Thus, while attempts to open up the management



process through appeals to inclusivity might well have required the introduction of alternative understandings of 'heritage' seeking to de-privilege physical aspects of the past, the rebirth of 'heritage' as safe and good pre-empts that threat to the AHD. Likewise, wider attempts to draw in notions of personal, local and community 'heritage' are closed-down for fear of the inevitability of conflict and dissent. Intangibility, along with personal senses of 'heritage', was instead constructed as the antithesis of 'good' and 'safe'. Moreover, the 'historic environment' was re-branded in such a way as to reinforce the identity category of 'the nation' – it is at *this* level that inclusion is sought, yet to capture *all* of society at this level is a contravention of inclusion, itself, as it denies the legitimacy of difference. Once again, we arrive at a strategy through which assimilation is the inevitable outcome.

The inherently positive structuring of 'heritage' and the 'historic environment' acts also as an implicit rejection of all 'heritage' that is difficult, unpleasant or uncomfortable. Yet, as Tunbridge and Ashworth (1996) point out, dissonance is an inevitability. *All* 'heritage' will be unpleasant, difficult or uncomfortable for someone, a point that was reinforced by the Q interpretations of Chapter 4 (see, for instance, Factor Two B and Factor Four). The deeper message, here, is that there is no room for the types of 'heritage' that will make a *specific* social group feel unpleasant or uncomfortable. If we revert back, for the moment, to discussions emerging from Chapter 4, this means that those things that are considered 'ugly', 'impoverished' or speak too clearly about social, economic or political inequalities are immediately rendered *not* heritage. Indeed, as Chapter 7 reaffirms, it is the beautiful and aesthetically pleasing that are afforded room within the parameters of this hybridised AHD. Moreover, this characterisation of a beautiful 'heritage' standing in stark contrast to something 'ugly' and therefore *not* heritage acted as something of a cautionary tale, particularly within the DCMS document *People and Places* (2002).

An important point to note about the movement to recast 'heritage' as the 'historic environment' is the moral legitimacy it draws from the postulations of being 'democratic' (Chapter 6). Simplified, however, attempts to replace the tarnished notion of 'heritage' with 'the historic environment' actually transpire as a conscious contrastive relationship that in fact finds equivalence with the AHD. This democratising movement was not limited to 'heritage' alone, but was also a



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discursive strategy drawn upon to reconstruct the identity of English Heritage in a more positive light. In Chapter 7, this was witnessed in the use of the *Conservation Principles* as a PR manoeuvre utilised to demonstrate the modernisation of English Heritage as an institution. Once again responding to the considerable risk of constructing a genuinely inclusive policy agenda, not only for longevity of the AHD, but so to for the institutional identities embedded within it, a sleight-of-hand was enacted in a bid to manipulate a range of social relations *through* discursive means. A principal means of achieving this was the dusting off and cleaning up of 'heritage' as therapeutic and safe, which was further strengthened by the mediation of experts. The transformative movement of turning an aspect of *the* historic environment (with 'the' emphasised here as a reminder of its assumed inclusivity, despite the construction of the singular) into a *selected* piece of 'heritage' is tantamount to this relationship. This rebirth of 'heritage' as a subset of the inclusive 'historic environment' is a crucial point for this thesis, and is thus a point I want to unpack further. It was first identified in the Working Group discussions as a precursor to *Power of Place* (English Heritage 2000r), and cemented itself within the DCMS website in 2006 (see DCMS 2006a and b). The inclusive, democratic identity of 'heritage' institutionally embedded within a number of organisations has been sanitised and sanctified at two junctures: firstly, the historic environment has been introduced and legitimised as inclusive, all-embracing and all around 'us'; secondly, 'heritage' has been earmarked as those things that are *selected*, by experts, from the historic environment as safe, good and free from conflict. Importantly, the former is envisioned as *objective*, while the subjectivities of the latter are filtered through the hands of expertise in a process that renders it 'safe' and thereby capable of engendering the *right* feelings, values and meanings. Through these two moves, English Heritage and DCMS have gained the confidence to push forward an inclusion agenda that recontextualises 'heritage' as therapeutic, instrumental, positive and consensual. As such, this transformative process is also able to justify the prominent position of experts in selecting only 'the best' as worthy. In this discursive structuring, experts are crucial, and operate within the confines of the 'hidden power' that mediates the AHD. As Chapter 7 demonstrated, this emergent understanding of 'heritage' afforded the sector the potential to promote its relevance for wider New Labour agendas. Within this process of recontextualisation, 'heritage', deified as it was, took up an endlessly positive role in society as the 'enabler', the 'facilitator', the 'promoter', the 'educator', the 'provider', the 'player' and, ultimately, the 'saviour'.



Social inclusion has provided a significant impetus to the rebranding of heritage. The sense of 'heritage' and 'historic environment' that emerged from the process was something that was granted iconic status as a life-giving 'thing'. In effect, the rebranding is continuous. It is now part-and-parcel of the management process and operates at the nexus between the two concepts, heritage and historic environment. The interlocutory role of the expert, who reframes, renders safe, and *signals* something as 'heritage' is granted the power to objectify the nation's identity in an overarching act of patrimony. The problematic, of course, emerges because what is objectified and branded as an inclusive marker of identity is, in fact, simply *one* identity amongst many. The entire process is a gross simplification of the complexity of processes through which people express, create and assert identities, and amounts to what Levitas (2004: 53) calls "...symbolic erasure". Moreover, through this construction of events, the problem of exclusion is re-orientated and now becomes something that needs to be attended to by 'the excluded', themselves – if 'the historic environment' is inclusive, and 'heritage' is plucked from that catch-all, it too emerges as 'inclusive'. If this is the case, then why are people still excluded? The logic embedded in policy follows that it must be occurring as a matter of choice, rather than as a consequence of wider social, economic and political inequities. A related issue that is also at risk if this rendering of a safe and conflict-free past is not sustained is the identity of Englishness constructed around the efficient and immaculate management of 'heritage', as emerged across Part II. 'Heritage' as a conscientious act of taming the past, the performance of conserving (Smith 2006) and the transcendental quality of Englishness (Schwyser 1999: 58) *as a world class standard* is also threatened by the potential importation of contemporary debates and contestations regarding 'heritage'.

#### *The Passivity of "The Heritage Audience"*

The above themes all contribute to a more sustained attempt to sponsor passivity within what have been recontextualised as heritage 'audiences', 'visitors', 'consumers' and 'customers'. These new categories for heritage users surfaced not only in a range of heritage documentation, but were crucial markers in the interviewing process as well. Once again, this was particularly striking in the interviews undertaken with English Heritage and DCMS employees. In making this point I am not suggesting that the employees of heritage institutions *consciously* carve out and sustain their privileged positions with the management process, but



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they unconsciously do so through their validation of the AHD. Achieving this passiveness is particularly striking, as it occurred in tandem with rhetorical attempts to democratise a more inclusive sense of ‘heritage’ *in the present*. While the theme of patrimony remained recurrent throughout the documents utilised in Part II, an attempt was made to better situate the management process in the present – an attempt that is explicit within the instrumentalist policy reviewed in Chapter 7. However, rather than construct a sense of ‘heritage’ that is derived from the “...*power of situated agency*” (Fairclough *et al* 2003), such that the cultural resources available to people may generate a range of meanings (see Factors Two B and Four, Chapter 4), this recontextualisation allowed heritage practitioners to seek the establishment of pre-constructed reactions to ‘heritage’. In a sense, the rebranding of ‘heritage’ *was* inclusive, as it is not solely those groups who are ‘excluded’ who are considered in need of re-education and instruction, but *all* heritage ‘visitors’ and ‘audiences’. This is demonstrated in the overwhelming reoccurrence of language such as ‘demonstrating’, ‘explaining’, ‘revealing’, ‘informing’ and ‘helping’ as found in the policy documents examined in Part II. Although a place of sorts has been found for present generations within the management process, the moment of heritage remains almost entirely people-less. Indeed, it remains people-less until the past has been transformed into ‘safe heritage’, and it is only at this point that attempts to socially include are initiated. It is thus a metaphoric instance of Annette Weiner’s (1992) notion of keeping-while-giving.

A passivated audience is important for the AHD in a number of ways. First and foremost, it reinforces the idea of ‘possession’ as highlighted earlier in this chapter. It is simply another trope through which the spokespersons of ‘heritage’ are legitimised. Secondly, it masks and soothes over the very real, emotional content of the cultural processes of ‘heritage’, and places a veneer of calm, distance and consensus on top of its material realities. Third, it disengages and disempowers present generations from constructing and reconstructing a range of meanings and experiences in the present. Fourth, it enforces a disjuncture between the ‘established’ values of experts, which include historical, aesthetic and evidential values (Chapter 7), and what are labelled as ‘public’ values. Moreover, it exacerbates the distinction created between ‘them’ and ‘us’. What this sense of passivity achieves on one hand, then, is the limited ability of people to have their sense of ‘heritage’ legitimised *if they, or their sense of ‘heritage’, fall outside of the AHD*. What is included, on the other hand, are those things that have been legitimised *as*



*an act of concession* by the altruistically acts of English Heritage. As such, public values and people are *never* authorised to make choices and decisions outside of those allowed within the AHD. Indeed, those choices and decisions are seen to be in need of refining, so as to soothe over the brashness and vulgarity of popular notions of history. Indeed, the debates regarding public value, as discussed in Chapter 7, demonstrate that those things relating to ‘the public’ and ‘people’ are *entirely* removed from the realm of heritage management, and do not find influence in those debates regarding the *Heritage Protection Review*. Indeed, not only are people rendered passive, but so to is the entire category of ‘the public’. As such, the basis of exclusionary groupings can be seen to have formed around issues of agency and ownership, and make arguments surrounding the assimilatory techniques of the heritage sector all the more clear. Here, particular constructions of agency and ownership make it legitimate and, indeed, the natural course of action, to impose – wholesale – the decisions and values of one group onto another. The paradox, of course, is that one can never feel included within an essentially exclusive and assimilatory discourse.

The idea of an audience made passive also operates in tandem with the nationalisation of the AHD, which allows notions of ‘heritage’ to be drawn up around assumptions of majority and consensus heritage. As such, a suite of moral evaluations can be called upon to substantiate and legitimise a range of decisions and activities. The semantic identification of the majority as ‘self’ and the minority as ‘other’ has therefore allowed social inclusion policies to push forward practices of re-education via subtle social policy, in an attempt to fold the excluded ‘others’ into the majority, thereby becoming a part of the self. To borrow from MacCannell (1992: 170), in this sense the minorities can “...*never be the body, they can only be incorporated, contained, ‘assimilated’, taken into the body, eaten up*”. In a hierarchy of activity, minority groups, ‘others’, or the socially excluded lose further power, becoming the ultimate category of ‘them’.

### *Coming Full Circle*

This thesis has charted a number of shifts and movements within the heritage sector as the organisations that comprise it attempt to maintain and demonstrate the relevance of ‘heritage’ to both Government and wider society. A central part of those shifts and movements has been an attempt to sustain the tightly-crafted sense of heritage that is held at the core of heritage policy. This sense of heritage



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is centred on the cultural symbols of the elite, white middle- and upper-classes, and has a tangible/fabric orientation, with an emphasis on patrimony, aesthetics and an ultimately 'good', consensual and sanctified heritage. Wrapped up within this marrying together of an essentially elitist and exclusive notion of heritage and broader initiatives of 'social inclusion' is a not-so-subtle act of social policy aimed cultural assimilation achieved through re-education. Here, various nuances of the AHD mediate and manage emergent policy directions by subtly influencing a range of tangential areas of debate. A particular construction of 'heritage' is utilised to foster good, safe surroundings and identities, which are themselves mediated by a particular construction of ownership, expertise and possession. An overarching belief in the ability of 'heritage' to encourage and enact a number of performances, beliefs and values while dispelling the legitimacy of less 'pleasant' and less 'consensual' perspectives is enforced by the assumed passivity of heritage users. All of these policy constructions are discourse-related and conditioned, and work for the continuation and successful recreation of that discourse.

At a more abstract level, power has been recontextualised as part of the wider process of social inclusion, in which a particular vision of 'heritage' has become the potent site of a struggle for consent and consensus. The hegemonic aspiration to assert that vision as universal, inevitable and indeed, morally desirable can be seen as a mechanism within a wider movement towards acquiescence. The ideological work embedded within the text of the range of policy documents included in this thesis provides a suggestion of wider social meanings and activities. Indeed, as Fairclough (2003: 58) points out, the way in which the specific meanings and values of a particular socio-economic grouping will be best served is if they are taken as given. In moving from 'text' to 'society', it is thus possible to argue that the themes I have outlined above index a particular discourse about what values, experiences and meanings matter, and that discourse is the AHD. Across the nuances of the AHD, as it mutates and reacts over time, it continues to make sense as a negotiation over hegemonic identity categories. The 'nation' as immaculate Englishness, expertise as a modernised English Heritage and the wider 'us' as white, middle- and upper- classes are all variations of the dominant identity categories. This does not mean that I support a homogenised characterisation of either English Heritage or 'the white, middle- and upper-classes', nor do I assert their wholesale, literal and *direct* linkage with the overview of the AHD I have mapped within this thesis. Rather, I suggest that the *overarching*



*interests* of these somewhat nebulous groupings find congruence with, are served by, and *do not find conflict* with, the core assumptions that motivate the AHD. These core assumptions may be challenged within those social groupings, and certainly they were in both the Q interpretations and in-depth interviews, but ultimately, as Smith (2006) points out, they are overwhelmingly comfortable. Thus, while personal and local spaces are being increasingly filled with a wider range of heritage experiences and symbols, those representations that are inevitably selected as *comfortable* and thus utilised in television programmes, to adorn the paraphernalia of heritage organisations and to cement into the memoryscapes of national and international tourists, are those images that conform to the parameters of the AHD.

### PARAMETERS AND SELF-REFLECTIONS

This thesis has presented one element of a wider investigation into the meaning, construction and use of 'heritage'. Principally, I have used this thesis to chart the institutional and discursive environments of 'heritage', in an attempt to link language, power and social realities. I have not proposed to offer an understanding of how these linkages are greeted and disputed in practice *outside* of heritage institutions, nor have I been able to present alternative constructions of 'heritage' beyond those provided in the Q interpretations. While these alternative discourses are certainly available, I have chosen to limit my analysis to those constructions and interpretations that are visible in policy. As such, I cannot pretend to offer an analysis that unearths distinctly new ways forward in terms of management policy and strategies. What I have done, however, is stress the importance of *critically thinking about* what we already do in terms of management and policy.

As Fairclough (2003: 15) points out, Critical Discourse Analysis has its limitations when used on its own. An awareness of the potential limitations of CDA struck a particular chord for me in reflecting on the work undertaken in this thesis for two reasons. First, it is a limitation I was aware of from the outset, and it prompted me to attempt to better ground my analyses with the additions of in-depth interview material and Q Methodological interpretations. In reflection, however, I think these analyses would have been further strengthened with the addition of ethnographic observations that took into account the social life and *realities* of key heritage institutions, in order to acquire a clearer understanding of the ideological effects of texts in practice. Indeed, used to its full potential, CDA is both a textual



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analysis and a discursive analysis, and through this union, offers an opportunity into broader social analyses. This point gives rise to the second limitation I have identified, which rests on this opportunity for broader social analyses. Overall, my analysis has tended towards the 'micro' aspects of CDA, and has placed considerable emphasis on the internal workings of a range of texts by virtue of the wealth of material available. Had both time and space permitted, I would have attempted to re-balance this weighting, and substantiate the observations I was able to make at a micro level with a more robust analysis of the related macro level. The addition of a more substantial understanding of the larger scale would allow the thesis to tap into wider systems of social and cultural meaning-making. Further research still needs to be done in terms of the relationship between 'heritage' and social inclusion, with an eye to determine how, and if, those links are formed and to what end. Indeed, what are the wider social, cultural and political consequences of 'heritage' for social inclusion, and social inclusion for 'heritage'? To this point, a lack of clarity has been afforded to the dialogicality of these two notions, and an appreciation of the moment of influence might work both ways.

Finally, the interpretations offered in Chapter 4 regarding the different discourses of 'heritage' warrant further exploration. In this thesis, I examined these interpretations with a specific interest in the institutionally-embedded nature of the AHD in mind. A closer examination of these perspectives, which are expressive of a sense of dissonance constructed *externally* to the AHD, is worthwhile. It is only from that point, when we have a firmer grasp of the discourses and assumptions that animate a fuller range of perspectives within the world of 'heritage', that a clearer path for the facilitation of dialogue can be proposed. To get to this point, however, the discursive structurings of 'consensus', 'safe heritage' and a 'passive audience' need to be both acknowledged and dismantled, in tandem with a concerted move away from disguising difference and dissonance. That point will only ever be reached once the heritage sector has fully come to terms with the salience of language, and rendered transparent the role the AHD plays in legitimising and sustaining a *particular* way of seeing heritage. Until that point, the overarching failure of the heritage sector to sponsor and implement genuine and successful policies of social inclusion will continue.



# APPENDICES



# APPENDICES

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## APPENDIX 1

### INTERVIEW SCHEDULE

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#### INTERVIEWS

*(Name, date of interview, interviewee's affiliation and position, location of interview)*

*Interviewees will be cited in the text of the thesis by interview transcription number to accommodate the need for anonymity (i.e. Interviewee One, English Heritage, 10<sup>th</sup> November 2004)*

*Paul Barnwell*

23<sup>rd</sup> May 2005, English Heritage Yorkshire and the Humber Region, Head of Medieval and Later Rural Research Policy, The King's Manor, York.

*Giovanni Boccardi*

10<sup>th</sup> January 2006, UNESCO – World Heritage Centre, Chief of Asia and Pacific Unit, place de Fontenoy, Paris.

*James Burke*

14<sup>th</sup> January 2005, Department for Culture, Media and Sport, Architecture and Historic Environment Division, Cockspur Street, London.

*Ian Cameron*

13<sup>th</sup> January 2005, Culture, Media and Sport Select Committee, Second Clerk, 7 Millbank, Westminster, London.

*Gill Chitty*

8<sup>th</sup> June 2005, The Council for British Archaeology, Conservation Co-ordinator, St Mary's House, York.

*Kate Clark*

10<sup>th</sup> June 2005, The Heritage Lottery Fund, Deputy Director of Policy and Research, Telephone interview, The King's Manor, York.

*Ben Cowell*

4<sup>th</sup> July 2005, English Heritage, Policy and Communications, Head of Social and Economic Research, Fortress House, Savile Row, London.

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## APPENDIX 2

### KEY QUESTIONS FOR INTERVIEW

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**1. Who are the key ‘players’ involved with formulating heritage policy?**

What institutional capacities are drawn upon – for example, which/whose knowledge? What mobilising capacities?

Who do you think are the most important people in the process? How do you determine who has important/useful things to say or contribute and who doesn’t?

Who makes up the policy community?

Who is responsible for managing heritage, in terms of identifying it, defining its significance and proposing management strategies?

**2. What are the aims and objectives of heritage policies and legislation?**

What are the priorities of heritage policy in England?

What are the main guidelines used to manage ‘heritage’?

Do these guidelines meet with conflict?

**3. How do the terms ‘heritage’, ‘historic environment’, ‘built heritage’, ‘archaeological heritage’, ‘culture’ and ‘cultural environment’ relate to each other? Are they synonymous? Is the focus the same?**

What do you mean by ‘heritage’ in both national and international policy? (What is included in the term)?

What directions are we travelling in with regard to heritage policy?

**4. What role does archaeology play in the heritage process in England?**

Whose interests are catered for?



**5. What takes precedence - global, national or local significance?**

Where does influence predominantly come from in England (international to national/or national to international)? Does England enjoy a position of influence?

**6. Is there a time-depth to 'heritage' that should be satisfied?**

**7. A key concern identified by New Labour government has been that of social inclusion. How sympathetic is current legislation and policy to this changing emphasis, in view of community outreach programmes and social inclusion?**

How are the different interpretations of 'heritage' integrated into policy?

What effects does 'heritage' bring in terms of sustainable communities/social inclusion? How can/is this explored?

What methods or strategies can be employed to understand this relationship?

How possible is it to incorporate social significances and a social dimension into the management process? Is it feasible?

**8. How has the 'heritage' debate evolved since the 1970's? Has the emphasis changed?**

'Significance' plays a vital role – who determines significance? How, and with what objectives in mind?

Is it important to explore memory and identity when assessing 'heritage' significance?

**9. Are any areas of 'heritage' neglected by the current management strategy?**

**10. Are there any individuals you can recommend I talk to with regard to this?**



APPENDIX 3

INSTITUTIONAL PROFILE OF INTERVIEWEES

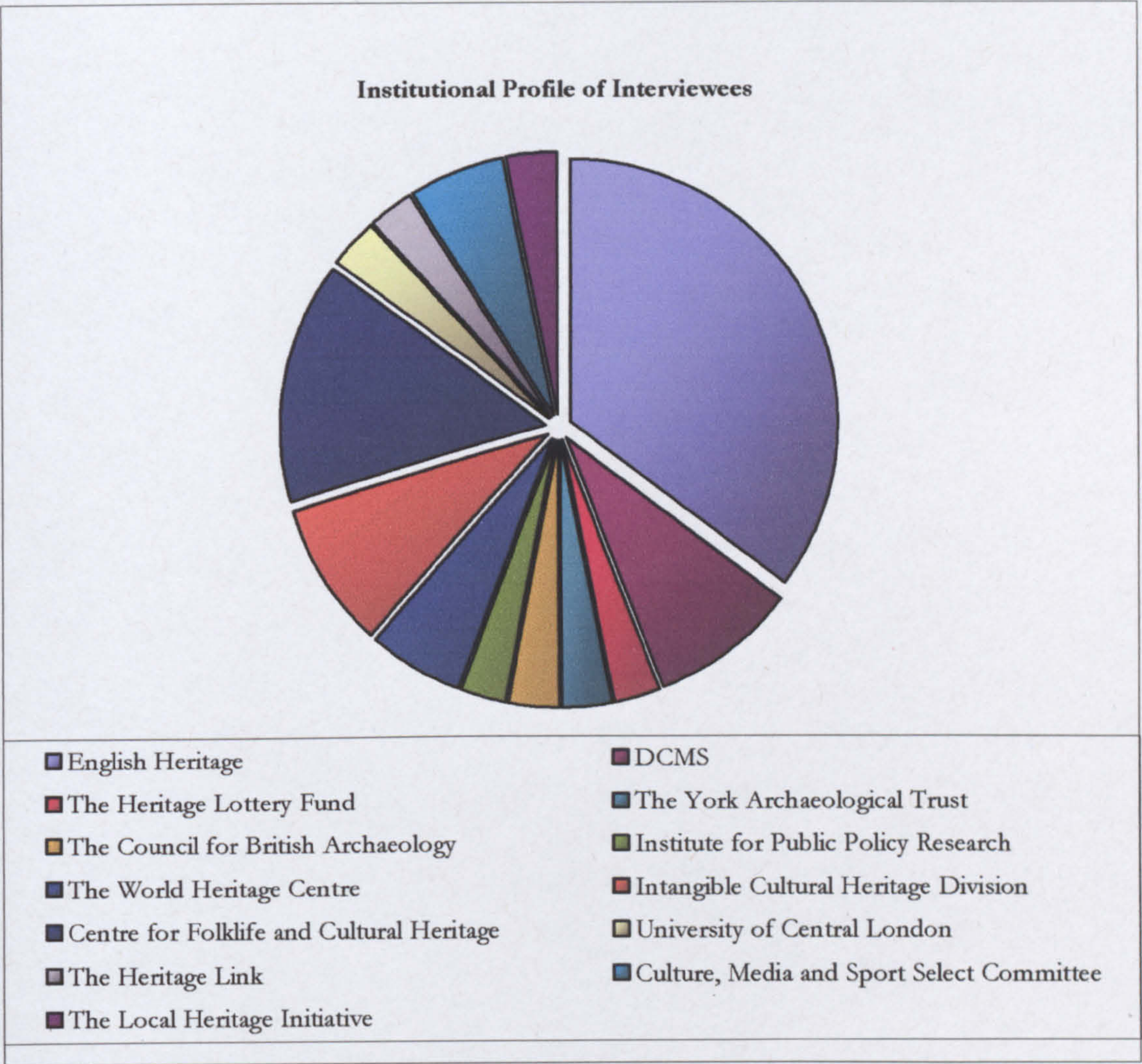


Figure 3.1: Institutional Profile of Interviewees



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APPENDIX 4

SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE PRINCIPLES

QUASI-NORMAL PYRAMID FOR  
DISTRIBUTION OF 64 STATEMENTS

FIGURE 4.3: PQ METHOD 2.11 · ROUTINE  
MENU SCREEN

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# SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE PRINCIPLES

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The following extract is taken from page 58 of:

Stephenson, W. (1953) *The Study of Behaviour: Q Technique and its Methodology*. Chicago: University of Chicago Press.

## SUMMARY OF QUANTITATIVE PRINCIPLES

### R-TECHNIQUE POSTULATES

- i. The *populations* are groups of persons,
- ii. Each variate has reference to an attribute or characteristic of all such persons,
- iii. These variates do not interact - operations are according to the *rule of the single variable*,
- iv. The transitory postulate (namely, if  $x > y$ ,  $y > z$ , then  $x > z$ ) proceeds in terms of *individual differences*,
- v. Scores are reduced to *standard scores* with respect to each variate, for the sample of persons concerned,
- vi. These scores are approximately normally distributed with respect to the sample of persons,
- vii. All the important information for each array is contained in its variation (no information is lost in throwing away the variate *means*),
- viii. The concern is with interdependency analysis

### Q-TECHNIQUE POSTULATES

- i. The *populations* are groups of statements or the like,
- ii. Each variate has reference to an operation of a single person upon all the statements in one interactional setting,
- iii. The *variates* may interact in the one interactional setting,
- iv. The *transitory postulate* has reference to *intra-individual differences* (such as 'significance')
- v. Scores are reduced to *standard scores* with respect to each person-array.
- vi. Scores are approximately normally distributed with respect to the person-array,
- vii. All the important information for each array is contained in its *variation* (no information is lost in throwing away the variate means),
- viii. The concern is with dependency analysis



# QUASI-NORMAL PYRAMID FOR DISTRIBUTION OF 64 STATEMENTS

[illegible]



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## PQ METHOD 2.11 · ROUTINE MENU

---

```
C:\ PQMETHOD
C:\PQMETHOD\PROJECTS>set EDITOR=c:\pqmethod\ed.com
C:\PQMETHOD\PROJECTS>set VIEWER=c:\pqmethod\view86.com
C:\PQMETHOD\PROJECTS>c:\pqmethod\PQMethod.exe

+-----+
+ PQMethod - 2.11
+ (November 2002)
+-----+
+ by Peter.Schmolck@unibw-muenchen.de
+ Adapted from Mainframe-Program QMethod
+ by John Atkinson at KSU
+-----+
+ The QMethod Page:
+ http://www.rz.unibw-muenchen.de/~p41bsmk/qmethod/
+-----+

Enter [Path and] Project Name:
mystudy3

Current Project is ... C:\PQMETHOD\PROJECTS\mystudy3
Choose the number of the routine you want to run and enter it.

1 - STATES - Enter (or edit) the file of statements
2 - QENTER - Enter q sorts (new or continued)
3 - QCENT - Perform a Centroid factor analysis
4 - QPCA - Perform a Principal Components factor analysis
5 - QROTATE - Perform a manual rotation of the factors
6 - QUARIMAX - Perform a varimax rotation of the factors
7 - QANALYZE - Perform the final Q analysis of the rotated factors
8 - View project files mystudy3.*
X - Exit from PQMethod

Last Routine Run Successfully - (Initial)
```

Figure 4.3: PQ Method 2.11 – Routine Menu Screen



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## APPENDIX 5

### THE Q SAMPLE · 64 STATEMENTS

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The following table lists the 64-statement Q sample used for this study.



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STATEMENT NUMBER	STATEMENT
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- |    |   |
|----|---|
| 1  | Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage  |
| 2  | Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations                                  |
| 3  | English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces |
| 4  | Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value  |
| 5  | Heritage is about the intangibles: The values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff  |
| 6  | Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage                                    |
| 7  | The country house symbolises the idea of ‘heritage’ in Britain  |
| 8  | It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England  |
| 9  | I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements  |
| 10 | Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory  |
| 11 | There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised   |
| 12 | The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation   |
| 13 | There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past   |
| 14 | Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches   |
| 15 | National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining ‘heritage’  |
-



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14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining ‘heritage’



STATEMENT NUMBER	STATEMENT
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage
33	The British heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism
35	The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present
39	Our heritage and arts represent much of our wealth in the full financial sense of the word
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource



STATEMENT NUMBER	STATEMENT
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?



STATEMENT NUMBER	STATEMENT
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making



APPENDIX 6

TABLE 4.3: FACTOR LOADINGS

TABLE 4.4: DEFINING/SIGNIFICANT SORTS  
PER FACTOR

FACTOR LOADINGS				
SORT	1	2	3	4
1	<b>0.5749X</b>	-0.1382	0.0795	<b>0.5028</b>
2	0.0215	<b>-0.7355X</b>	0.1319	<b>0.4447</b>
3	0.0755	-0.1487	0.0420	<b>0.5628X</b>
4	0.1787	<b>-0.7652X</b>	0.1319	<b>0.4979</b>
5	0.1707	<b>-0.4295</b>	0.1527	<b>0.6285X</b>
6	0.1441	-0.3597	<b>0.5580X</b>	0.3795
7	<b>0.4233</b>	<b>-0.5300X</b>	0.1249	0.2713
8	0.3444	-0.3510	0.3135	<b>0.5947X</b>
9	<b>0.3907</b>	<b>-0.4718</b>	0.2625	<b>0.4308</b>
10	-0.0465	-0.1182	<b>0.4533X</b>	0.1201
11	<b>0.4974</b>	<b>-0.5700X</b>	0.1009	0.2758
12	<b>0.6093X</b>	-0.1059	0.3459	0.2735
13	-0.0068	<b>-0.5146</b>	0.3022	<b>0.5626X</b>
14	0.3496	-0.3256	0.3274	<b>0.3946</b>
15	0.3216	<b>-0.5876</b>	0.1220	<b>0.5408</b>
16	0.1875	<b>-0.4762X</b>	0.2903	-0.0277
17	0.2621	-0.2880	0.2509	<b>0.3950</b>
18	<b>0.4393</b>	<b>-0.4512</b>	0.2429	0.3817
19	0.3440	-0.3765	0.3768	<b>0.5255X</b>
20	0.1365	<b>-0.7620X</b>	0.1611	<b>0.5225</b>
21	<b>0.4080</b>	<b>0.6457X</b>	0.2112	-0.0570
22	<b>0.5973X</b>	0.2233	0.1329	0.2264
23	0.0856	<b>-0.5526X</b>	-0.0968	<b>0.4932</b>
24	<b>0.7176X</b>	-0.2875	0.2680	<b>0.3995</b>
25	<b>0.6834X</b>	0.0344	0.3447	0.3229
26	0.2885	<b>-0.4981</b>	0.2983	<b>0.4911</b>
27	<b>0.6547X</b>	-0.0198	0.3152	<b>0.3897</b>
28	0.0494	-0.2135	0.2799	<b>0.5375X</b>
29	0.3748	-0.3768	0.2549	0.3447
30	0.1542	-0.1975	<b>0.3959X</b>	0.2436
31	<b>0.5544X</b>	<b>0.3910</b>	0.0425	-0.0130
32	0.3450	<b>0.5956X</b>	0.0435	0.0131
33	<b>0.5051</b>	<b>0.5344X</b>	-0.0609	0.1766



34	<b>0.6508X</b>	-0.2666	0.1152	<b>0.4219</b>
35	<b>0.5371X</b>	-0.3813	0.3106	<b>0.4230</b>
36	0.3092	0.0882	<b>0.5786X</b>	0.0397
37	0.2337	<b>0.7580X</b>	-0.2348	-0.0521
38	0.1747	<b>0.6212X</b>	-0.2224	0.0152
39	<b>0.4171</b>	<b>0.6965X</b>	0.0382	0.0276
40	0.0623	<b>-0.7314X</b>	0.1157	0.1372
41	<b>0.4485</b>	0.0615	0.2664	<b>0.5530X</b>
42	<b>0.5215</b>	<b>0.5905X</b>	0.1355	0.0789
43	<b>0.3875</b>	-0.3899	0.3081	<b>0.3973</b>
44	<b>0.4414</b>	-0.2747	0.3458	<b>0.5805X</b>
45	<b>0.8260X</b>	0.0416	0.1122	0.1982
46	0.3262	-0.1278	0.1281	<b>0.6807X</b>
47	<b>0.6466X</b>	-0.2835	0.3091	0.2775
48	<b>0.4504</b>	-0.0044	<b>0.5475X</b>	<b>0.4338</b>
49	<b>0.6180X</b>	-0.2773	0.3098	<b>0.4306</b>
50	<b>-0.6362X</b>	0.0942	-0.2507	<b>-0.4260</b>
51	0.1019	-0.0970	<b>0.3042X</b>	0.0578
52	0.1610	<b>-0.4536</b>	0.0055	<b>0.5303X</b>
53	<b>0.6773X</b>	-0.2283	0.2524	<b>0.4519</b>
54	<b>0.6802X</b>	0.0182	0.1663	0.1579
55	<b>0.6083X</b>	-0.3319	0.3340	0.3634
56	0.3461	0.0385	0.3106	<b>0.4640</b>
57	<b>0.4243X</b>	0.0850	0.2523	-0.0777
58	0.0726	-0.0181	<b>0.6565X</b>	-0.0149
59	<b>0.4734X</b>	-0.0380	0.2615	0.3514
60	0.2979	<b>-0.5609</b>	0.2332	<b>0.4833</b>
61	<b>0.4839X</b>	0.0948	0.3558	0.1268
62	<b>0.4097</b>	-0.2064	0.3395	<b>0.4581</b>
63	<b>0.7018X</b>	-0.1174	0.1846	<b>0.4842</b>
64	<b>0.5851X</b>	0.0780	0.0860	<b>0.4642</b>
65	0.1558	-0.2868	<b>0.6215X</b>	0.2842
66	<b>0.5482X</b>	-0.0337	0.3637	<b>0.3907</b>
67	<b>0.4758</b>	<b>-0.4244</b>	0.2034	<b>0.4845</b>
68	<b>0.5378X</b>	-0.1506	0.1839	0.2059
69	0.1057	-0.2886	0.1349	<b>0.6980X</b>
70	0.2123	0.0449	<b>0.5619X</b>	<b>0.5169</b>
71	<b>0.5056X</b>	-0.0512	<b>0.4050</b>	0.1383
72	0.3177	-0.0573	-0.0181	<b>0.5987X</b>
73	<b>0.4960X</b>	-0.1976	0.1582	0.2300
74	<b>0.5743X</b>	-0.2087	0.1719	0.1672
75	0.3406	-0.0735	0.3305	<b>0.6564X</b>
76	<b>0.6085X</b>	-0.2270	0.3181	0.2007
77	<b>0.3834</b>	-0.2038	0.3273	<b>0.5263</b>
78	0.3584	-0.0884	0.0790	0.3494
79	<b>0.5365</b>	-0.3470	0.1898	<b>0.4918</b>
80	<b>0.6377X</b>	-0.0033	0.3554	<b>0.4403</b>
81	<b>0.7111X</b>	0.1226	0.3323	0.0182
82	<b>0.6822X</b>	-0.0923	0.2218	0.3195
83	<b>0.6373X</b>	0.0298	0.2432	0.2080
84	<b>0.6849X</b>	-0.1717	0.2019	0.2858
85	<b>0.4235</b>	-0.2988	0.1311	<b>0.5345X</b>
86	0.3290	-0.3254	0.1630	<b>0.6302X</b>
87	<b>0.7568X</b>	0.1926	0.2263	0.0414
88	0.0302	<b>-0.4861X</b>	0.0975	-0.0024
89	<b>0.5617X</b>	-0.1022	0.2635	<b>0.3945</b>
90	0.2573	-0.2949	0.0785	<b>0.5285X</b>



91	<b>0.7857X</b>	-0.0384	0.2659	0.3063
92	<b>0.4220</b>	<b>-0.3989</b>	0.0245	<b>0.5710X</b>
93	0.2988	-0.2338	0.1151	<b>0.6670X</b>
94	<b>0.4954</b>	-0.1827	0.3163	<b>0.4586</b>
95	<b>0.7147X</b>	-0.1642	0.3148	0.2970
96	<b>0.5388</b>	-0.1168	0.2105	<b>0.5330</b>
97	<b>0.5662X</b>	-0.3272	0.0598	0.3331
98	<b>0.5692X</b>	-0.0802	0.0295	0.2212
99	-0.1270	-0.0788	0.1935	<b>0.5270X</b>
100	0.2662	-0.1256	0.1202	0.3023
101	0.1962	-0.0937	0.2454	0.2590
102	<b>0.5158X</b>	0.0106	-0.1563	0.0588
103	<b>0.7232X</b>	-0.1387	0.1639	<b>0.3808</b>
104	<b>0.5695X</b>	-0.2563	0.2374	0.1979
105	<b>0.5740X</b>	-0.0122	0.1660	0.2589
106	<b>0.7154X</b>	-0.0984	0.0615	<b>0.4849</b>
107	<b>0.5938X</b>	-0.2388	0.2948	0.2078
108	<b>-0.8413X</b>	0.1701	-0.2678	<b>-0.4065</b>
109	-0.2838	0.1275	<b>-0.8475X</b>	<b>-0.3872</b>
110	0.2577	-0.1154	0.3530	0.2602
111	0.2706	-0.1280	<b>0.8525X</b>	0.3784
112	0.3426	<b>-0.4902</b>	0.2233	<b>0.7465X</b>
113	-0.2348	<b>-0.9093X</b>	0.0776	0.2001
114	0.1706	<b>-0.7658X</b>	0.1495	<b>0.4973</b>
115	<b>0.7944X</b>	-0.0776	0.2166	0.3711
116	0.1365	<b>-0.7620X</b>	0.1611	<b>0.5225</b>
117	0.1353	<b>-0.8010X</b>	0.1458	<b>0.4126</b>
118	0.1064	<b>-0.7672X</b>	0.1578	<b>0.4333</b>
119	0.2250	-0.0029	<b>0.8172X</b>	0.3132

Table 4.3: Factor loadings with an X indicating a defining sort, as determined by PQ Method 2.11, and significant sorts indicated in bold, as determined using the formula  $3(SE=1/\sqrt{n})$  (where  $n$  equals the number of statements within the Q-sample).

NUMBER OF SORTS	FACTORS				
	1	2A (+)	2B (-)	3	4
DEFINING SORTS	46	7	14	12	20
SIGNIFICANT SORTS	19	1	11	1	41

Table 4.4: Number of defining and significant sorts of each factor



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# APPENDIX 7

## FACTOR ARRAYS

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The data material used to interpret each factor is expressed here in a collection of tables and figures:

- Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays for all Five Factors
- Table 4.22: The Interpreted Factor Arrays for all Five Factors
- Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD with Emphasis on Factors 2Ai and 2Aii (the AHD and the AHD in Transition)
- Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD with Emphasis on Factors 2Bi and 2Bii (Critical and Uncritical)
- Table 4.25: Factor Arrays with Contested Statements Highlighted



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
1	Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage	-5	5	-5	-6	-6	
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-3	5	5	
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	-3	-1	
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	-5	-5	
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: The values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff	3	-4	4	-1	2	
6	Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage	3	-5	5	5	6	
7	The country house symbolises the idea of ‘heritage’ in Britain	-3	1	-1	-3	-1	
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-5	-4	
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-2	-4	
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	1	-3	
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	1	-4	4	0	2	
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	0	-5	

Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays – Q sort values for each statement across each factor



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-5	-6	
14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches	-1	-3	3	-2	0	
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining 'heritage'	0	-1	1	1	1	
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	0	-4	
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-6	-2	
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism	-1	-2	2	1	0	
19	Heritage should not be forced on people	1	1	1	1	3	
20	Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage	-1	0	0	3	-1	
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	0	-3	
22	It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage	4	-5	5	4	5	

Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays – Q sort values for each statement across each factor (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	2	4	
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	4	3	
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	2	4	
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	1	4	
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	-3	-5	
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	0	-2	
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	1	4	
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	4	-1	1	-2	2	
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-3	-1	
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	-4	1	

Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays – Q sort values for each statement across each factor (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage	2	3	-3	2	-2	
33	The British heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values	-5	-3	3	2	-3	
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism	-5	-1	1	-1	-2	
35	The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed	-4	-4	4	-2	-1	
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	2	0	
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	-3	0	
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	4	6	
39	Our heritage and arts represent much of our wealth in the full financial sense of the word	1	1	-1	-1	-2	
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	0	2	
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	-4	1	
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	-4	-4	

Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays – Q sort values for each statement across each factor (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	-2	1	
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-2	-1	
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource	5	2	-2	3	4	
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	3	2	
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy	0	1	-1	0	-1	
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	1	1	
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1	
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	0	0	6	1	
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool	5	0	0	5	1	
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	6	3	

Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays – Q sort values for each statement across each factor (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects	1	0	0	3	0	
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	-1	-1	-3	
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	0	-5	
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	-1	3	
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-1	2	0	
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2	
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	2	0	
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	4	3	
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	-1	0	
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	-5	-3	
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	-1	1	
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	3	5	

Table 4.8: Raw Factor Arrays – Q sort values for each statement across each factor (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
1	Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage	-5	5	-5	-6	-6
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-3	5	5
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	-1	-3
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	-5	-5
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: the values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff.	3	-4	4	2	-1
6	Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage.	3	-5	5	6	5
7	The country house symbolises the idea of ‘heritage’ in Britain	-3	1	-1	-1	-3
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-4	-5
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-4	-2
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	-3	1
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	1	-4	4	2	0
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation.	-2	5	-5	-5	0
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-6	-5

Table 4.22: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches	-1	-3	3	0	-2
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining 'heritage'	0	-1	1	1	1
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	-4	0
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-2	-6
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism	-1	-2	2	0	1
19	Heritage should not be forced on people	1	1	1	3	1
20	Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage	-1	0	0	-1	3
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	-3	0
22	It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage	4	-5	5	5	4
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	4	2
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	3	4
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	4	1

Table 4.22: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	-5	-3
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	-2	0
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	4	1
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	4	-1	1	2	-2
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-1	-3
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	1	-4
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage	2	3	-3	-2	2
33	The British Heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values	-5	-3	3	-3	2
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism	-5	-1	1	-2	-1
35	The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed	-4	-4	4	-1	-2
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	0	2
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	0	-3
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	6	4

Table 4.22: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
39	Our heritage and arts represent much of our wealth in the full financial sense of the word	1	1	-1	-2	-1
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	2	0
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	1	-4
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	-4	-4
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	1	-2
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-1	-2
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource	5	2	-2	4	3
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	2	3
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy	0	1	-1	-1	0

Table 4.22: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	1	5
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	0	0	1	6
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool	5	0	0	5	5
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	3	6
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects	1	0	0	0	3
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	-1	-3	-1
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	-5	0
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	3	-1
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-1	0	2
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2

Table 4.22: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	0	2
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	3	4
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	0	-1
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	-3	-5
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	1	-1
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	5	3

Table 4.22: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
1	Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage	-5	5	-5	-6	-6
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-3	5	5
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	-1	-3
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	-5	-5
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: The values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff	3	-4	4	2	-1
6	Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage	3	-5	5	6	5
7	The country house symbolises the idea of ‘heritage’ in Britain	-3	1	-1	-1	-3
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-4	-5
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-4	-2
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	-3	1
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	1	-4	4	2	0
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation.	-2	5	-5	-5	0
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-6	-5

Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD - Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Ai and 2Aii  
The AHD – Romantic Hybridity (2Ai) and the Quintessential Characterisation (2Aii)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches	-1	-3	3	0	-2
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining 'heritage'	0	-1	1	1	1
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	-4	0
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-2	-6
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggest elitism	-1	-2	2	0	1
19	Heritage should not be forced on people	1	1	1	3	1
20	Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage	-1	0	0	-1	3
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	-3	0
22	It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage	4	-5	5	5	4
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	4	2
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	3	4
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	4	1

Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD - Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Ai and 2Aii  
The AHD – Romantic Hybridity (2Ai) and the Quintessential Characterisation (2Aii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	-5	-3
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	-2	0
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	4	1
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	4	-1	1	2	-2
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-1	-3
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	1	-4
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage	2	3	-3	-2	2
33	The British Heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values	-5	-3	3	-3	2
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism	-5	-1	1	-2	-1
35	The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed	-4	-4	4	-1	-2
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	0	2
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	0	-3
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	6	4

Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD - Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Ai and 2Aii



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
39	Our heritage and arts represent much of our wealth in the full financial sense of the word	1	1	-1	-2	-1
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	2	0
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	1	-4
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	-4	-4
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	1	-2
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-1	-2
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource	5	2	-2	4	3
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	2	3
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy	0	1	-1	-1	0

Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD - Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Ai and 2Aii  
The AHD – Romantic Hybridity (2Ai) and the Quintessential Characterisation (2Aii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	1	1
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	0	0	1	6
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool	5	0	0	5	5
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	3	6
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects	1	0	0	0	3
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	-1	-3	-1
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	-5	0
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	3	-1
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-1	0	2
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2

Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD - Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Ai and 2Aii  
The AHD – Romantic Hybridity (2Ai) and the Quintessential Characterisation (2Aii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	0	2
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	3	4
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	0	-1
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	-3	-5
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	1	-1
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	5	3

Table 4.23: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD - Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Ai and 2Aii  
The AHD – Romantic Hybridity (2Ai) and the Quintessential Characterisation (2Aii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
1	Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage	-5	5	-5	-6	-6
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-3	5	5
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	-1	-3
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	-5	-5
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: The values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff	3	-4	4	2	-1
6	Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage	3	-5	5	6	5
7	The country house symbolises the idea of 'heritage' in Britain	-3	1	-1	-1	-3
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-4	-5
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-4	-2
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	-3	1
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	1	-4	4	2	0
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	-5	0
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-5	-6

Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD – Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Bi and 2Bii  
Reactions to the AHD – Critical Reaction (2Bi) and Community Activism (2Bii)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches	-1	-3	3	0	-2
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining 'heritage'	0	-1	1	1	1
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	-4	0
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-2	-6
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism	-1	-2	2	0	1
19	Heritage should not be forced on people	1	1	1	3	1
20	Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage	-1	0	0	-1	3
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	-3	0
22	It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage	4	-5	5	5	4
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	4	2
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	3	4
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	4	1

Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD – Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Bi and 2Bii  
Reactions to the AHD – Critical Reaction (2Bi) and Community Activism (2Bii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	-5	-3
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	-2	0
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	4	1
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	4	-1	1	2	-2
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-1	-3
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	1	-4
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage	2	3	-3	-2	2
33	The British Heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values	-5	-3	3	-3	2
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism	-5	-1	1	-2	-1
35	The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed	-4	-4	4	-1	-2
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	0	2
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	0	-3
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	6	4

Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD – Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Bi and 2Bii  
Reactions to the AHD – Critical Reaction (2Bi) and Community Activism (2Bii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
39	Our heritage and arts represent much of our wealth in the full financial sense of the word	1	1	-1	-2	-1
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	2	0
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	1	-4
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	-4	-4
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	1	-2
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-1	-2
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource	5	2	-2	4	3
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	2	3
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy	0	1	-1	-1	0

Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD – Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Bi and 2Bii  
Reactions to the AHD – Critical Reaction (2Bi) and Community Activism (2Bii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	1	1
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	0	0	1	6
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool	5	0	0	5	5
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	3	6
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects	1	0	0	0	3
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	-1	-3	-1
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	-5	0
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	3	-1
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-1	0	2
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2

Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD – Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Bi and 2Bii  
Reactions to the AHD – Critical Reaction (2Bi) and Community Activism (2Bii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS						
No.	STATEMENT	THE AHD AND REACTION				
		AHD (2Ai)	AHD (2Aii)	REACTION (2Bi)	REACTION (2Bii)	FACTOR 3
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	0	2
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	3	4
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	0	-1
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	-3	-5
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	1	-1
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	5	3

Table 4.24: Factor Arrays Re-configured around the AHD – Emphasis placed upon Factor 2Bi and 2Bii  
Reactions to the AHD – Critical Reaction (2Bi) and Community Activism (2Bii) (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
1	Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage	-5	5	-5	-6	-6	
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-3	5	5	
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	-3	-1	
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	-5	-5	
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: The values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff	3	-4	4	-1	2	
6	Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage	3	-5	5	5	6	
7	The country house symbolises the idea of ‘heritage’ in Britain	-3	1	-1	-3	-1	
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-5	-4	
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-2	-4	
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	1	-3	
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	1	-4	4	0	2	
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	0	-5	
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-5	-6	
14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches	-1	-3	3	-2	0	
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining ‘heritage’	0	-1	1	1	1	

Table 4.25: Factor Arrays with Contested Statements Highlighted (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	0	-4	
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-6	-2	
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism	-1	-2	2	1	0	
19	Heritage should not be forced on people	1	1	1	1	3	
20	Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage	-1	0	0	3	-1	
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	0	-3	
22	It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage	4	-5	5	4	5	
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	2	4	
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	4	3	
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	1	4	
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	-3	-5	
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	0	-2	
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	1	4	

Table 4.25: Factor Arrays with Contested Statements Highlighted (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	4	-1	1	-2	2	
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-3	-1	
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	-4	1	
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage	2	3	-3	2	-2	
33	The British heritage industry is a loathsome collection of theme parks and dead values	-5	-3	3	2	-3	
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism	-5	-1	1	-1	-2	
35	The heritage industry imposes one ruling group's version of history on everyone and declares that it cannot be changed	-4	-4	4	-2	-1	
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	2	0	
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	-3	0	
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	4	6	
39	Our heritage and arts represent much of our wealth in the full financial sense of the word	1	1	-1	-1	-2	
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	0	2	
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	-4	1	
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	-4	-4	

Table 4.25: Factor Arrays with Contested Statements Highlighted (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	-2	1	
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-2	-1	
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource	5	2	-2	3	4	
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	3	2	
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy	0	1	-1	0	-1	
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	1	1	
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1	
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	0	0	6	1	
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool	5	0	0	5	5	
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	6	3	
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects	1	0	0	3	0	
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	-1	-1	-3	

Table 4.25: Factor Arrays with Contested Statements Highlighted (cont.)



FACTOR ARRAYS							
No.	STATEMENT	1	2A	2B	3	4	
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	0	-5	
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	-1	3	
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-1	2	0	
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2	
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	2	0	
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	4	3	
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	-1	0	
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	-5	-3	
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	-1	1	
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	3	5	

Table 4.25: Factor Arrays with Contested Statements Highlighted (cont.)



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# APPENDIX 8

## FACTOR ONE

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The data material used to interpret Factor One is expressed here in a collection of tables and figures:

Table 4.9: Distinguishing Statements for Factor One

Table 4.10: Professional Profile for Factor One

Figure 4.4: Professional Profile for Factor One



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS				
		1	2A	2B	3	4
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-3	5	5
45	Many heritage sites contain information of great value. They reveal earlier technology, architecture and culture, information about earlier environments and sometimes about otherwise unknown past occurrences. As such they are an important educational resource	5	2	-2	3	4
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	-4	1
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	4	-1	1	-2	2
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	3	5
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	1	-3
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	4	3
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don't think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	4	3
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-6	-2
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	2	0
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism	-1	-2	2	1	0
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	0	-5
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	0	-4
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	0	0	-4	1
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	-1	-4
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	0	-5



8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-5	-4
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	-3	0
34	Heritage panders to vulgar English nationalism	-5	-1	1	-1	-2

Table 4.2: Distinguishing Statements for Factor 1



	Number	%
<i>Occupation</i>		
Academic	1	1.54
Archaeologist	6	9.23
<i>County Council Archaeologist</i>	2	3.08
Architect	1	1.54
Civil Servant	9	13.85
<i>DCMS</i>	2	3.08
<i>English Heritage</i>	7	10.77
Community Heritage Group Member	9	13.85
<i>Retired</i>	3	4.62
Conservation Officer	4	6.15
<i>County Council Conservation Officer</i>	1	1.54
County Councillor	2	3.08
Heritage Professional	6	9.23
International Organisation	8	12.31
<i>Intangible Cultural Heritage Division</i>	2	3.08
<i>World Heritage Centre</i>	2	3.08
<i>Division of Cultural Heritage</i>	4	6.15
<i>Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage</i>	0	0
Journalist	0	0
Museum/Curator	3	4.62
Researcher	1	1.54
Student	15	23.06
 Total ( <i>defining and significant sorts</i> )	 65	 100

Table 4.10: Occupational Profile for **Factor One** (*entries in italics represent sub-categories*)



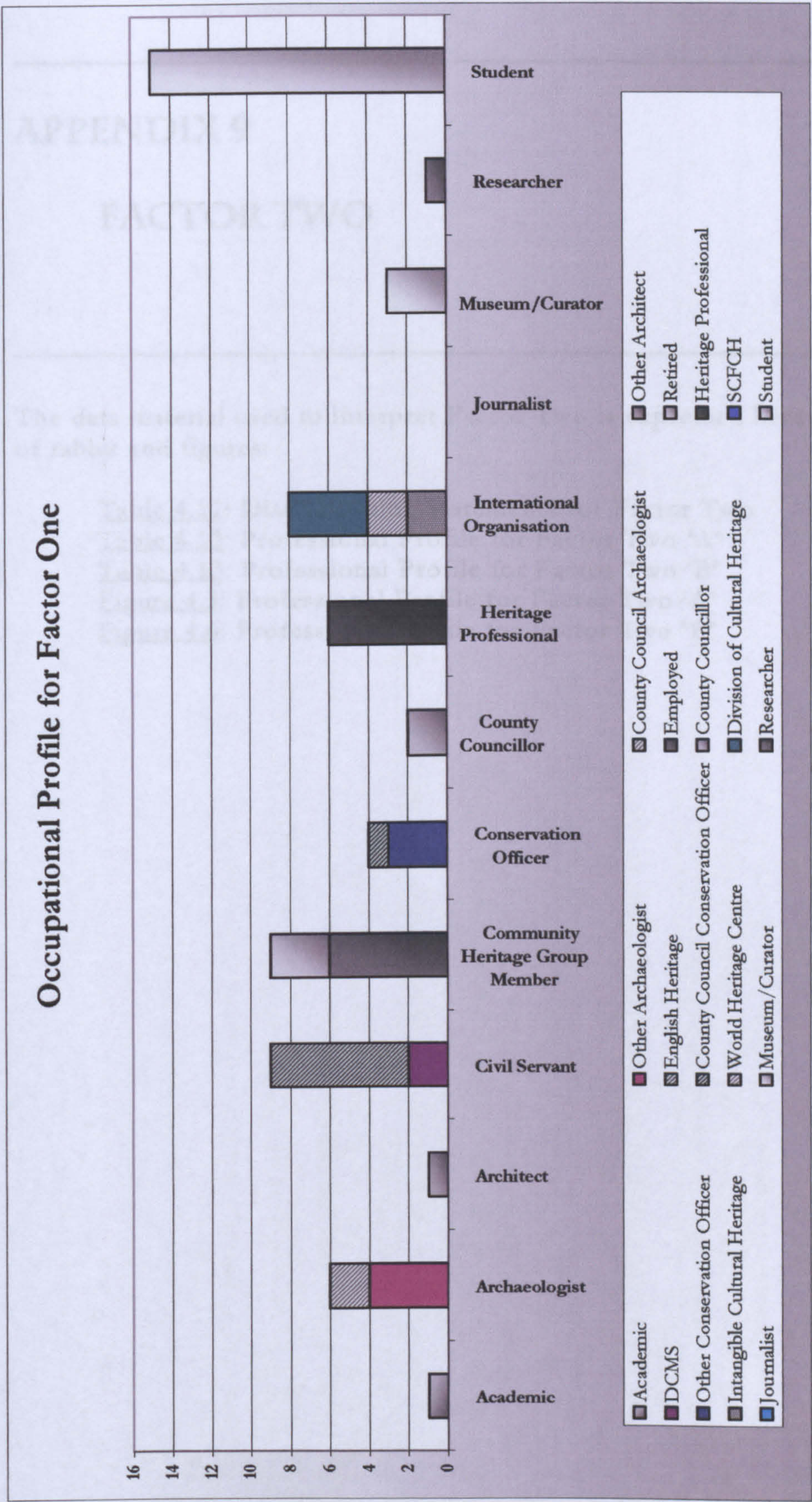


Figure 4.4: Occupational Profile for Factor One



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# APPENDIX 9

## FACTOR TWO

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The data material used to interpret Factor Two is expressed here in a collection of tables and figures:

- Table 4.11: Distinguishing Statements for Factor Two
- Table 4.12: Professional Profile for Factor Two ‘A’
- Table 4.13: Professional Profile for Factor Two ‘B’
- Figure 4.5: Professional Profile for Factor Two ‘A’
- Figure 4.6: Professional Profile for Factor Two ‘B’



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS				
		1	2A	2B	3	4
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	-3	0
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	3	4
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	-4	1
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	-2	2
1	Only great architecture, buildings, archaeological sites and monuments count as heritage	-5	5	-5	3	5
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	1	-3
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	4	3
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	4	3
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	2	2
2	Heritage is an inheritance: It is our legacy from the past, what we live with today, and what we pass on to future generations	6	3	-2	-6	-2
42	The stately homes of England, it is now often claimed, are that country's greatest contribution to Western civilisation	-2	3	-3	2	0



No.	STATEMENT (cont.)	FACTORS				
		1	2A	2B	3	4
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-5	-6
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	0	-5
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	0	-4
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	-4	1
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-1	-4
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	0	-5
47	Demands for heritage are defined as demands for heritage experiences which generate benefits that tourists and others enjoy	0	1	-1	-5	-4
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	1	1	1
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-6	-3	0
7	The country house symbolises the idea of 'heritage' in Britain	-3	1	1	-1	-2
51	I think it is important that people should be able to feel that they can access heritage and use it freely as a learning tool	5	0	0	5	5
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-2	-4



No.	STATEMENT (cont.)	FACTORS				
		1	2A	2B	3	4
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	-4	1
49	As more and more heritage sites are taken over to develop their tourist potential, the world is being turned into one massive theme park	-3	-1	1	1	1
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	-4	1
15	National governments, cultural agencies and professional bodies still use descriptive criteria for defining 'heritage'	0	-1	1	1	1
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	0	2
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	1	4
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	-1	3
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggest elitism	-1	-2	2	1	0
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	2	4
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	4	6
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2



No.	STATEMENT (cont.)	FACTORS				
		1	2A	2B	3	4
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	-	1
60	Oral history offers a tremendous potential for constructing and understanding the meaning of English heritage and history	2	-3	3	4	3
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	1	4
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	2	0
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	1	-4	4	0	2
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	2	0
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: the values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff	3	-4	4	-1	2
43	The heritage world is ‘too middle-class’ and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	-2	1
22	It is important to establish how communities themselves, as agents of culture, define their perceptions of heritage	4	-5	5	4	5
6	Language, memory and conveying meaning are as important as material culture, in the creation of a socially relevant heritage	3	-5	5	5	6
24	The concept of community is recurrent in heritage policy and planning, but I don’t think this focus is as democratic as it pretends to be	1	-5	5	4	3
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	-1	0
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	3	5

Table 4.11: Distinguishing Statements for Factor 2A and 2B



	Number	%
<i>Occupation</i>		
Academic	0	0
Archaeologist	1	12.50
<i>County Council Archaeologist</i>	0	0
Architect	0	0
Civil Servant	6	75.00
<i>DCMS</i>	3	37.50
<i>English Heritage</i>	3	37.50
Community Heritage Group Member	0	0
<i>Retired</i>	0	0
Conservation Officer	1	12.50
<i>County Council Conservation Officer</i>	1	12.50
County Councillor	0	0
Heritage Professional	0	0
International Organisation	0	0
<i>Intangible Cultural Heritage Division</i>	0	0
<i>World Heritage Centre</i>	0	0
<i>Division of Cultural Heritage</i>	0	0
<i>Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural</i>	0	0
<i>Heritage</i>		
Journalist	0	0
Museum/Curator	0	0
Researcher	0	0
Student	0	0
Total ( <i>defining and significant sorts</i> )	8	100

**Table 4.12:** Occupational Profile for **Factor Two 'A'** (*entries in italics represent sub-categories*)



	Number	%
<i>Occupation</i>		
Academic	3	12.00
Archaeologist	2	8.00
<i>County Council Archaeologist</i>	0	0
Architect	0	0
Civil Servant	2	8.00
<i>DCMS</i>	0	0
<i>English Heritage</i>	2	8.00
Community Heritage Group Member	7	28.00
<i>Retired</i>	0	0
Conservation Officer	0	0
<i>County Council Conservation Officer</i>	0	0
County Councillor	0	0
Heritage Professional	2	8.00
International Organisation	1	4.00
<i>Intangible Cultural Heritage Division</i>	1	4.00
<i>World Heritage Centre</i>	0	0
<i>Division of Cultural Heritage</i>	0	0
<i>Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural</i>	0	0
<i>Heritage</i>		
Journalist	0	0
Museum/Curator	1	4.00
Researcher	0	0
Student	7	28.00
Total ( <i>defining and significant sorts</i> )	25	100

**Table 4.13:** Occupational Profile for **Factor Two ‘B’** (*entries in italics represent sub-categories*)



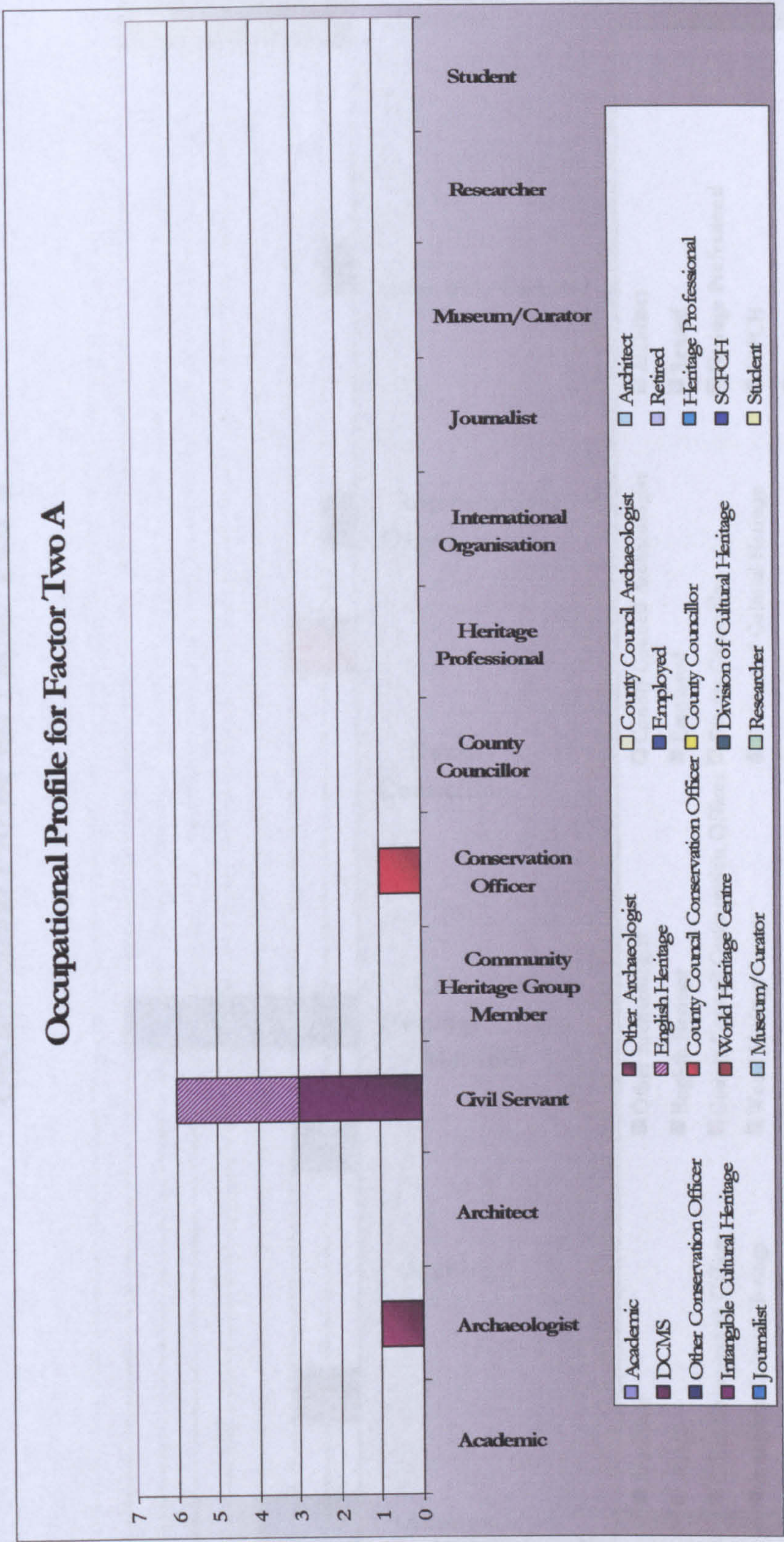


Figure 4.5: Occupational Profile for Factor Two A



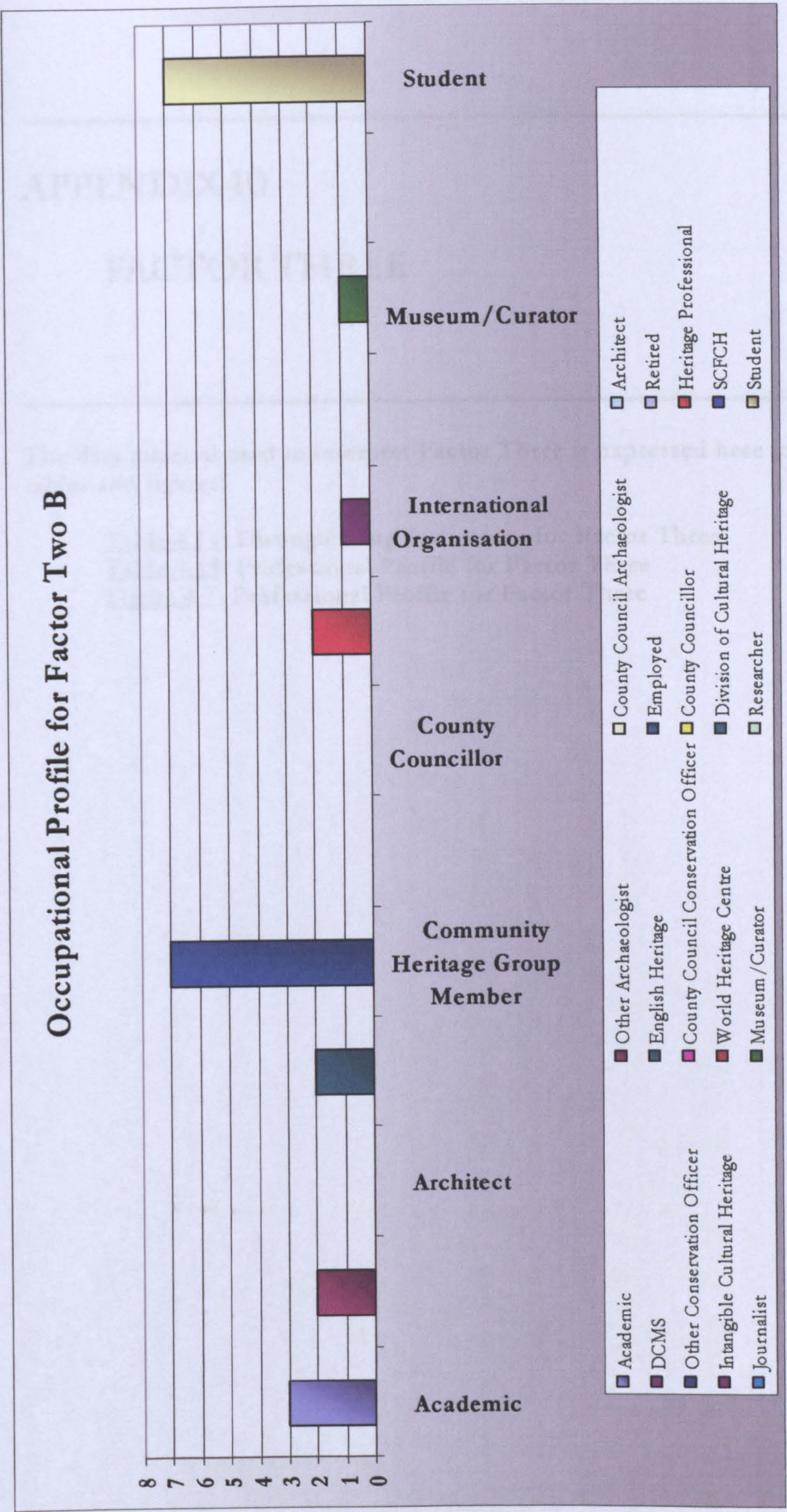


Figure 4.6: Occupational Profile for Factor Two B



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# APPENDIX 10

## FACTOR THREE

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The data material used to interpret Factor Three is expressed here in a collection of tables and figures:

- Table 4.14: Distinguishing Statements for Factor Three
- Table 4.15: Professional Profile for Factor Three
- Figure 4.7: Professional Profile for Factor Three



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS						
		1	2A	2B	3	4		
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	6	-6	6	1		
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	5	-2		
20	Nostalgia and escapism are innocent, but every now and then there is a touch of the neurotic in the national discussion of heritage	-1	0	0	3	-1		
53	Changes in funding mean private bodies increasingly pay for – and possibly influence – research projects	1	0	0	3	0		
46	Heritage has become a commercial ‘product’ to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	3	2		
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	3	5		
36	Heritage is the medium through which a particular version of the national past becomes hegemonic	-1	-3	3	2	0		
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	2	0		
23	Assessing the social value of heritage is as important as assessing the archaeological significance of it	5	-2	2	2	4		
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	0	-2	2	2	2		
18	There is a legacy of presenting ‘traditional heritage’ such as manor houses, which I think suggest elitism	-1	-2	2	1	0		
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	0	-2		
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	0	-5		
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	0	-4		
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	0	-5		
5	Heritage is about the intangibles: The values, meanings, expressions and knowledges – it is the living, cultural stuff	3	-4	4	-1	2		
63	The community engaging with a particular heritage should be the ones defining it and proposing methods for its maintenance	2	-2	2	-1	1		



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS						
		1	2A	2B	3	4		
54	Heritage is about wanting to commodify the past	-3	1	-1	-1	-3		
9	I would not be willing to pay any extra money in tax to pay for heritage management improvements	-5	0	0	-2	-4		
3	English heritage is made up of spectacular structural remains, prehistoric tombs, stone circles, hillforts, roman villas, medieval abbeys, castles, and palaces	0	4	-4	-3	-1		
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-3	-1		
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	-3	0		
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	-4	1		
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	-4	1		
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-5	-4		
62	For the most part the essential thing is to have time to record the details of any discovery before it is destroyed...once this work has been done, the destruction of the great majority of archaeological sites can be accepted as inevitable	-3	3	-3	-5	-3		
13	There is only one correct way to understand what happened in the past	-6	3	-3	-5	-6		
4	Heritage places are relicts of the past, and not places with living cultural value	-6	4	-4	-5	-5		
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-6	-2		

Table 4.14: Distinguishing Statements for Factor 3



	Number	%
<i>Occupation</i>		
Academic	0	0
Archaeologist	2	15.38
<i>County Council Archaeologist</i>	0	0
Architect	0	0
Civil Servant	2	15.38
<i>DCMS</i>	0	0
<i>English Heritage</i>	2	15.38
Community Heritage Group Member	2	15.38
<i>Retired</i>	0	0
Conservation Officer	0	0
<i>County Council Conservation Officer</i>	0	0
County Councillor	1	7.69
Heritage Professional	0	0
International Organisation	0	0
<i>Intangible Cultural Heritage Division</i>	0	0
<i>World Heritage Centre</i>	0	0
<i>Division of Cultural Heritage</i>	0	0
<i>Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural</i>	0	0
<i>Heritage</i>		
Journalist	0	0
Museum/Curator	1	7.69
Researcher	0	0
Student	5	38.48
Total ( <i>defining and significant sorts</i> )	13	100

**Table 4.15:** Occupational Profile for **Factor Three** (*entries in italics represent sub-categories*)



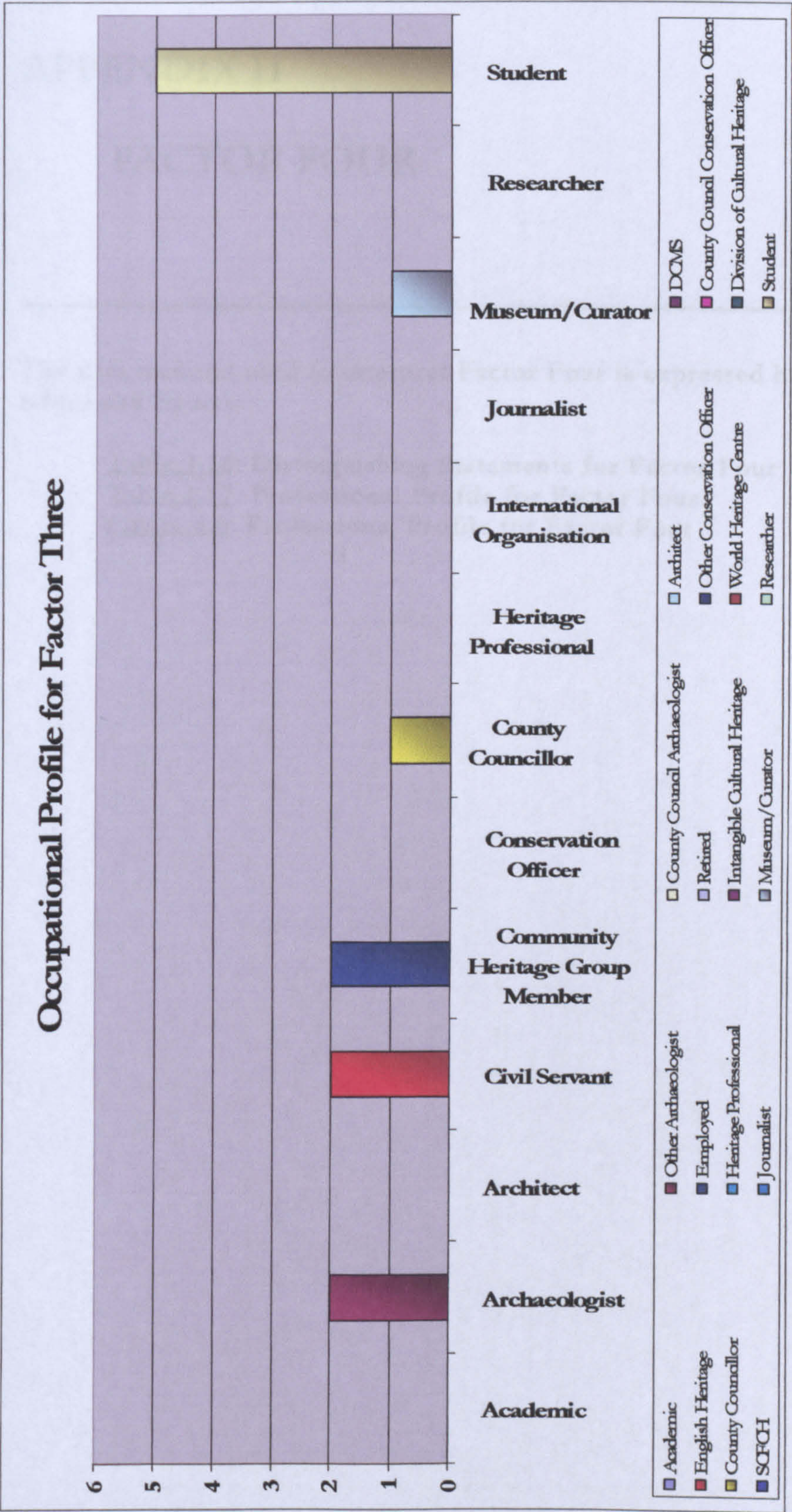


Figure 4.7: Occupational Profile for Factor Three



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# APPENDIX 11

## FACTOR FOUR

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The data material used to interpret Factor Four is expressed here in a collection of tables and figures:

- Table 4.16: Distinguishing Statements for Factor Four
- Table 4.17: Professional Profile for Factor Four
- Figure 4.8: Professional Profile for Factor Four



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS						
		1	2A	2B	3	4		
38	The past is endlessly constructed in and through the present	3	-2	2	4			6
64	Community input is an essential part of heritage policy making	4	-6	6	3			5
28	Full importance must be accorded to the intangible heritage, which is still largely neglected in favour of the monumental vision of the heritage	2	-3	3	1			4
25	The blanket application of scientific methods offers only a partial picture of what is significant about heritage	1	-1	1	1			4
19	Heritage should not be forced on people	1	1	-1	1			3
56	Cultural heritage is intimately linked to identity but this has tended to be played down by the heritage profession, due primarily to the central focus placed on material remains and their technical details	0	-2	2	-1			3
52	It is important to conserve the heritage resource for the educational benefit of today's and future generations	6	2	-2	6			3
58	There is a danger that while the material fabric of heritage is being preserved, the history of the people is being lost	1	-2	2	2			2
11	There are a lot of people in this country that are not recognised	4	-4	4	0			2
29	A new, inclusive and unified vision of heritage is needed which acknowledges the interdependence of tangible and intangible heritage	-1	-1	1	-2			2
40	There is sometimes a tendency to stress in interpretation those elements of a place for which there is impressive archaeological evidence, even if they are peripheral to the place's major significance	1	-1	1	0			2
46	Heritage has become a commercial 'product' to be marketed to customers seeking leisure and tourism experiences	-1	0	0	3			2
43	The heritage world is 'too middle-class' and puts too much emphasis on grand houses	-2	-5	5	-2			1



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS						
		1	2A	2B	3	4		
50	Our encounters with the past are becoming increasingly managed for us	0	0	0	6	1		
41	Museums, and site curation, like archaeology, have a tendency to be about the dead, and can have that undertaker's parlour feel – solemn, reverent, well cared for, but disconnected from life	-2	0	0	-4	1		
31	If you sideline heritage you sideline the nation's soul	5	-1	1	-4	1		
61	Following current policy, the opinions and perspectives of many individuals have been curtailed in preference of a narrow interpretation of what constitutes heritage	-1	-6	6	-1	0		
59	It feels a bit like you can only do something the English Heritage way, but who says they are right?	-1	-4	4	2	0		
18	There is a legacy of presenting 'traditional heritage' such as manor houses, which I think suggests elitism	-1	-2	2	1	0		
57	Above all people think that the historic environment is vital to educate children and adults about England's past	3	1	-1	2	0		
37	Only a select few are in a position to decide what is worthy of preservation and how it should be preserved	-4	6	-6	-3	0		
14	Public policymaking is dominated by technocratic, empiricist approaches	-1	-3	3	-2	0		
7	The country house symbolises the idea of 'heritage' in Britain	-3	1	-1	-3	-1		
30	The permanent protection of World Heritage is of the highest importance to the international community as a whole	3	2	-2	-3	-1		
44	The cultural value of a site is equated with archaeological research value, and it is assumed that archaeologists alone can realise and preserve that value	-4	2	-2	-2	-1		



No.	STATEMENT	FACTORS						
		1	2A	2B	3	4		
48	In heritage terms, tourism is a great liberalising force, enabling people to both appreciate cultural diversity and to see beyond cultural difference	2	1	-1	5	-2		
32	English Heritage is working to give everyone the chance to enjoy, understand and feel a part of England's heritage	2	3	-3	2	-2		
27	World Heritage sites belong to all the peoples of the world, irrespective of the territory on which they are located	4	4	-4	0	-2		
17	Traditional historic towns and beauty spots are correctly symbolic of England's heritage	0	2	-2	-6	-2		
10	Responsibilities of all government bodies to the historic environment need to become statutory	2	0	0	1	-3		
21	I feel more confident in the decision making process if it is based on objective, scientific fact	0	6	-6	0	-3		
8	It is perhaps in our country houses and churches that one comes closest to the spirit of England	-3	4	-4	-5	-4		
16	Scientific enquiry is neutral in terms of matters pertaining to social, economic, ethical and emotional issues	-2	5	-5	0	-4		
55	Heritage is about tourism and raising the national economy	-2	2	-2	0	-5		
12	The best way to understand the past is through scientific investigation	-2	5	-5	0	-5		
26	I don't see why there is interest in local levels when, in fact, we should be looking towards this new global world	-4	5	-5	-3	-5		

Table 4.16: Distinguishing Statements for Factor 4



	Number	%
<i>Occupation</i>		
Academic	2	3.28
Archaeologist	4	6.56
<i>County Council Archaeologist</i>	1	1.64
Architect	0	0
Civil Servant	8	13.11
<i>DCMS</i>	2	3.28
<i>English Heritage</i>	6	9.84
Community Heritage Group Member	13	21.31
<i>Retired</i>	1	1.64
Conservation Officer	2	3.28
<i>County Council Conservation Officer</i>	0	0
County Councillor	2	3.28
Heritage Professional	5	8.20
International Organisation	6	9.84
<i>Intangible Cultural Heritage Division</i>	4	6.56
<i>World Heritage Centre</i>	0	0
<i>Division of Cultural Heritage</i>	0	0
<i>Smithsonian Centre for Folklife and Cultural Heritage</i>	2	3.28
Journalist	0	0
Museum/Curator	4	6.56
Researcher	1	1.64
Student	14	22.94
 Total ( <i>defining and significant sorts</i> )	 61	 100

**Table 4.17:** Occupational Profile for **Factor Four** (*entries in italics represent sub-categories*)



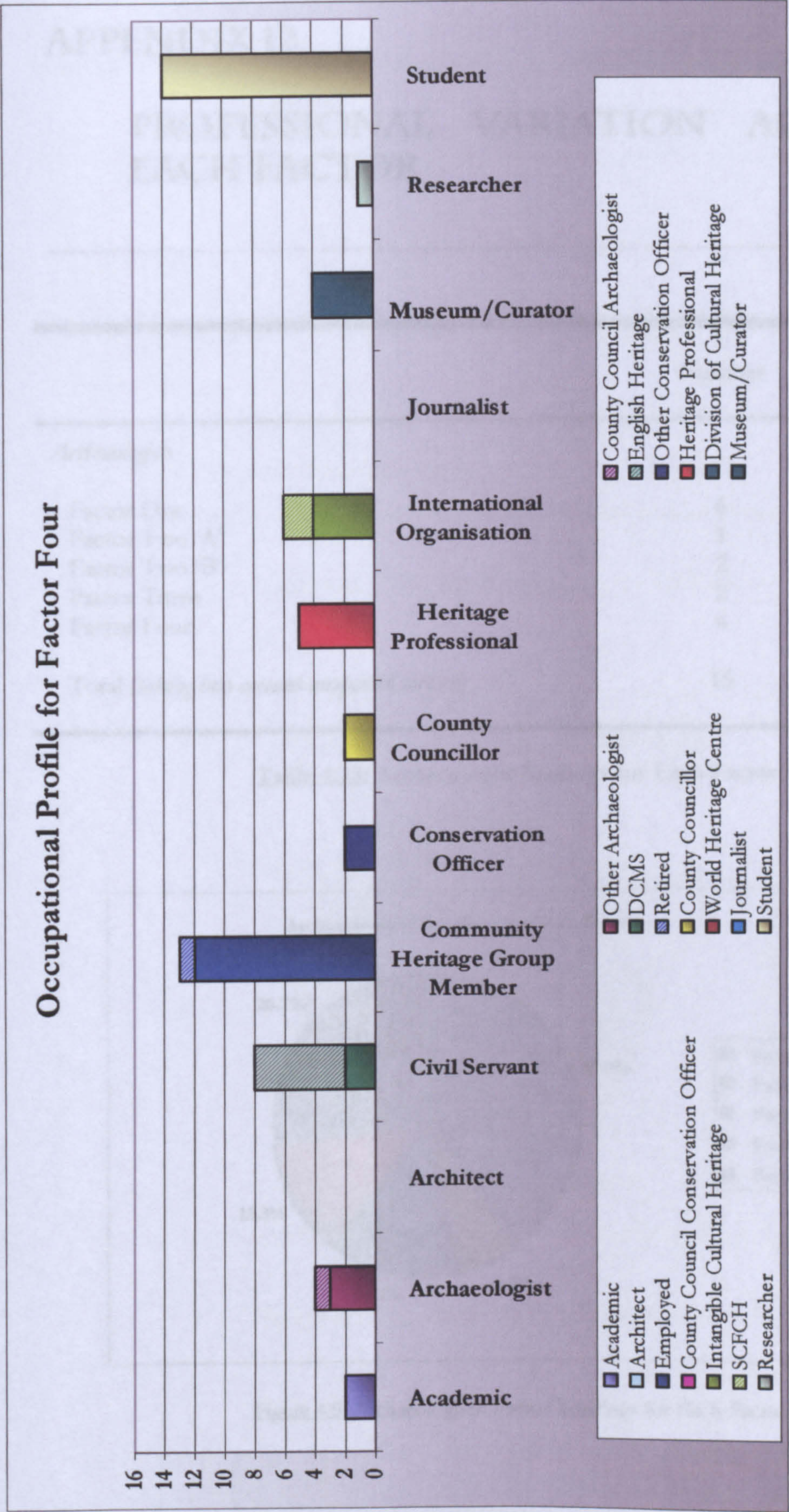


Figure 4.8: Occupational Profile for Factor Four



APPENDIX 12

PROFESSIONAL VARIATION ACROSS EACH FACTOR

Civil Servants

Factor One	8	33.33
Factor Two 'A'	1	22.22
Factor Two 'B'	1	22.22
Factor Three	2	7.41
Factor Four	2	7.41
	Number	%

Archaeologists

Factor One	6	40.00
Factor Two 'A'	1	6.67
Factor Two 'B'	2	13.33
Factor Three	2	13.33
Factor Four	4	26.67
Total (taking into account compound sorters)	15	100

Table 4.18: Archaeologist loadings for Each Factor

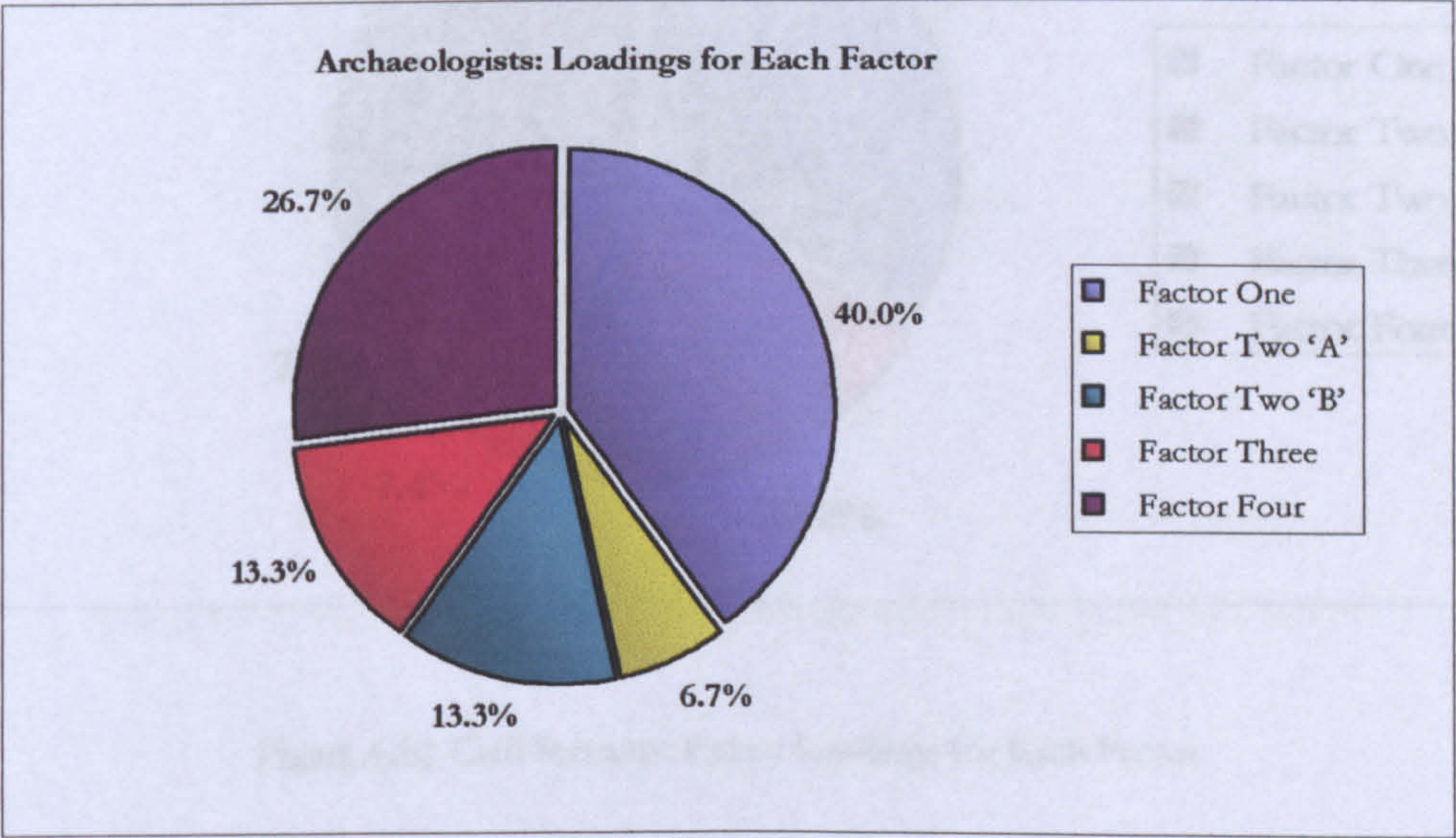


Figure 4.9: Archaeologists: Factor Loadings for Each Factor



	Number	%
<i>Civil Servants</i>		
Factor One	9	33.33
Factor Two 'A'	6	22.22
Factor Two 'B'	2	7.41
Factor Three	2	7.41
Factor Four	8	29.63
Total (taking into account compound sorters)	27	100

Table 4.19: Civil Servant Loadings for Each Factor

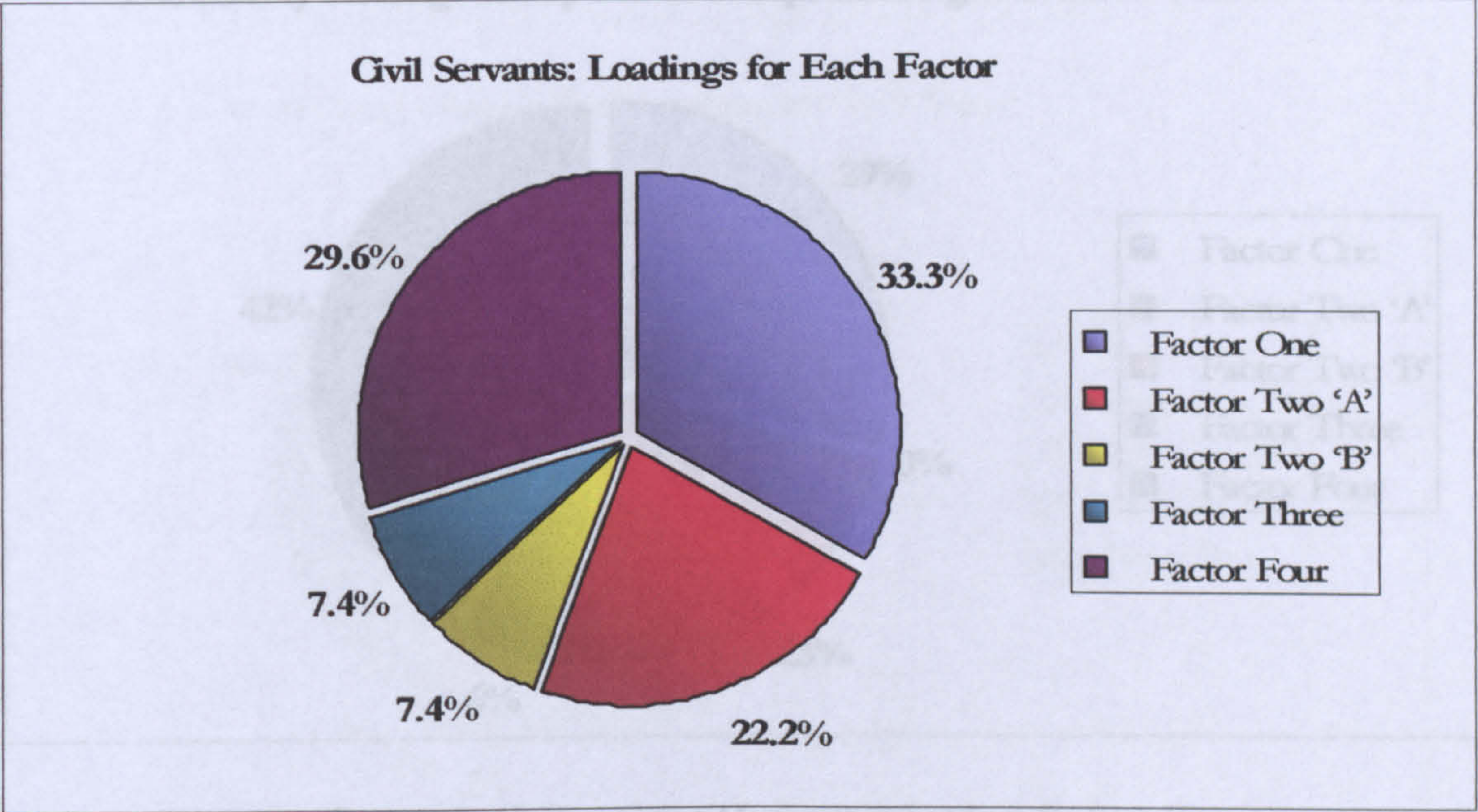


Figure 4.10: Civil Servants: Factor Loadings for Each Factor



	Number	%
<i>Community Heritage Group Membership</i>		
Factor One	9	29.03
Factor Two 'A'	0	0.00
Factor Two 'B'	7	22.58
Factor Three	2	6.45
Factor Four	13	41.94
Total ( <i>taking into account compound sorters</i> )	31	100

Table 4.20: Community Heritage Group Membership loadings for Each Factor

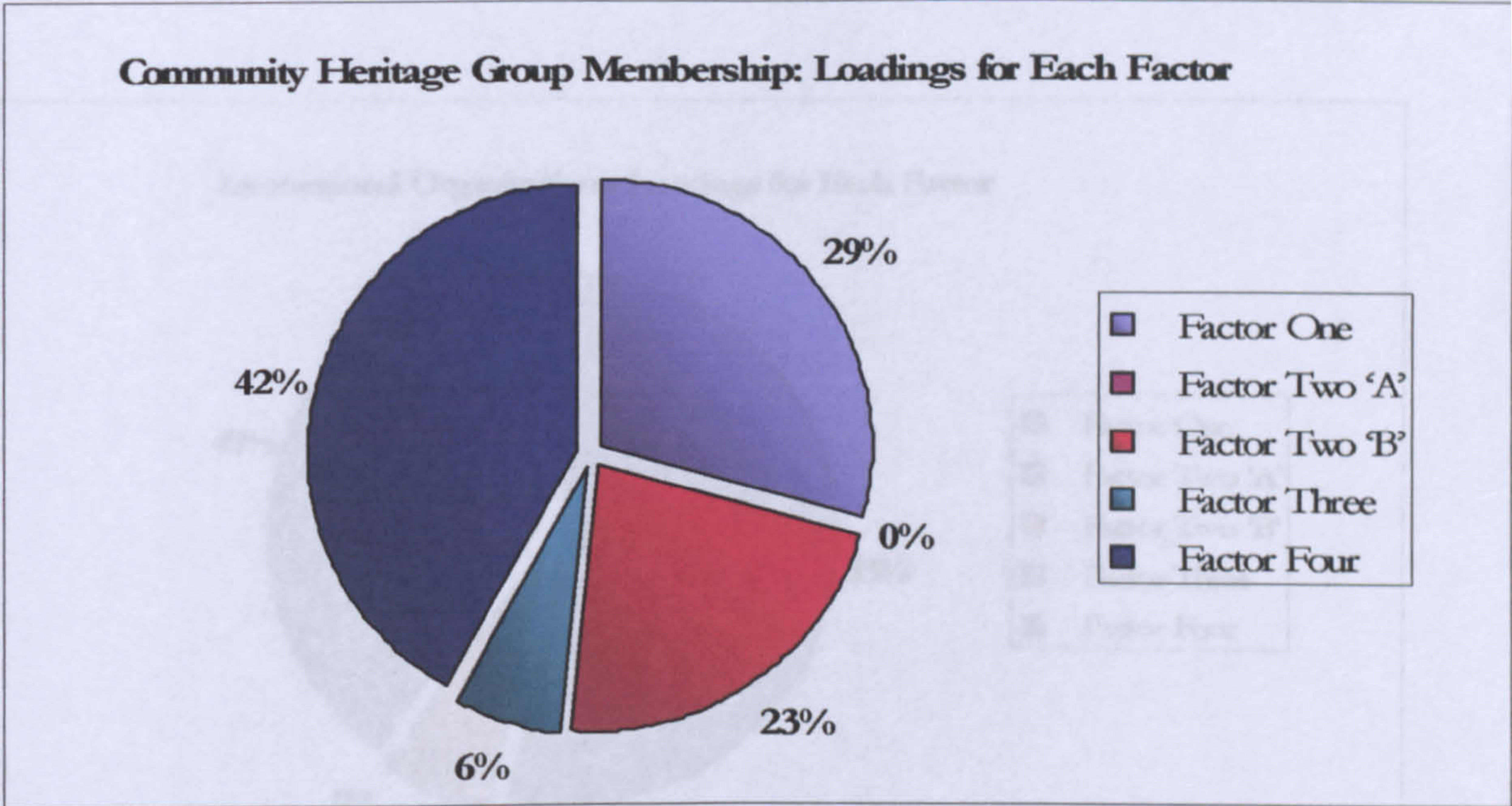


Figure 4.11: Community Heritage Group Membership: Loadings for Each Factor



	Number	%
<i>International Organisations</i>		
Factor One	8	53.33
Factor Two 'A'	0	0.00
Factor Two 'B'	1	6.67
Factor Three	0	0.00
Factor Four	6	40.00
Total <i>(taking into account compound sorters)</i>	15	100

Table 4.21: International Organisation Loadings for Each Factor

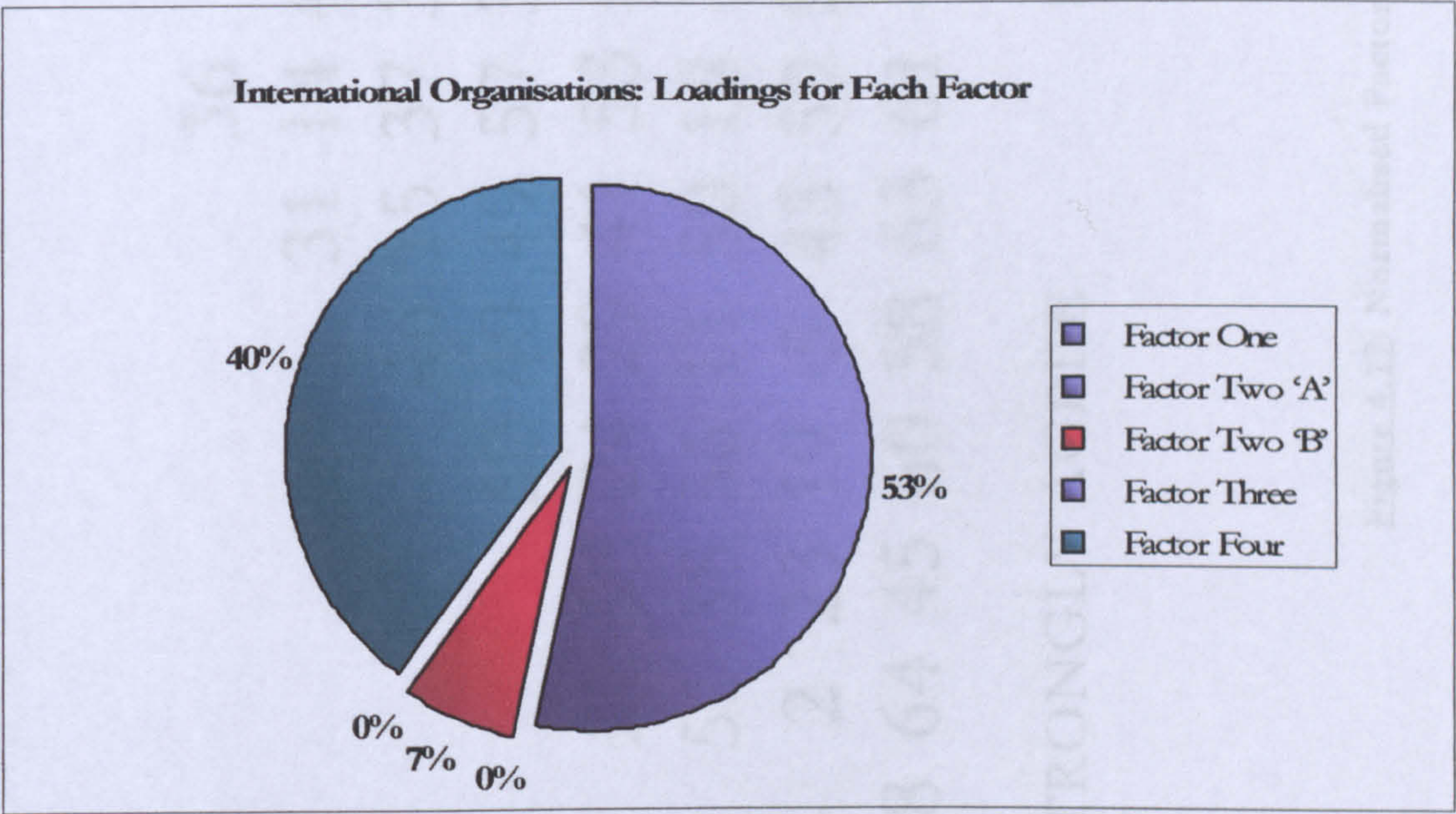


Figure 4.12: International Organisation Loadings for Each Factor



[illegible]

#### **Figure 4.17: Normalised Factor Scores for Factor 4**



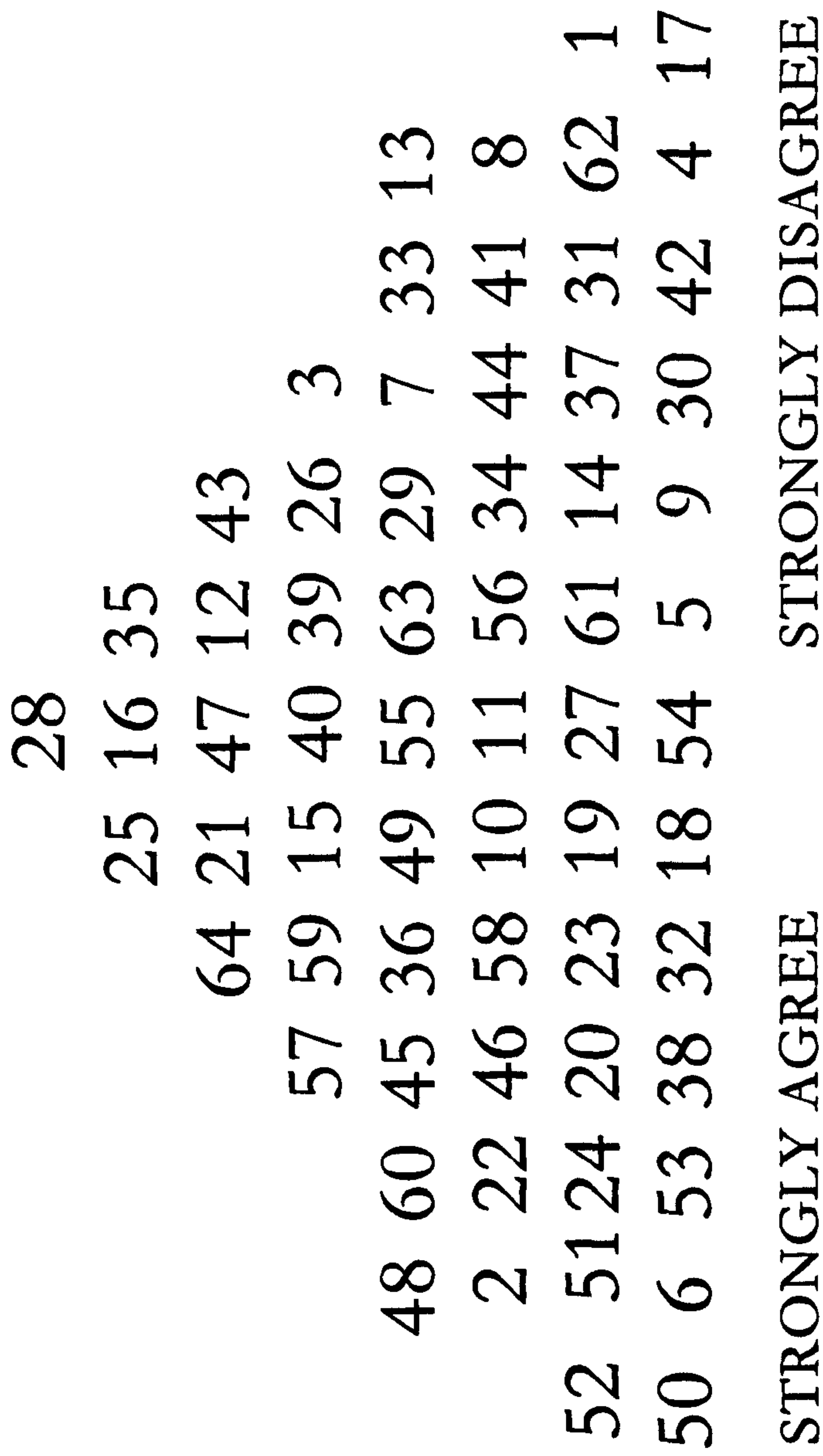


Figure 4.16: Normalised Factor Scores for Factor 3



[illegible]

**Figure 4.15: Normalised Factor Scores for Factor 2B**



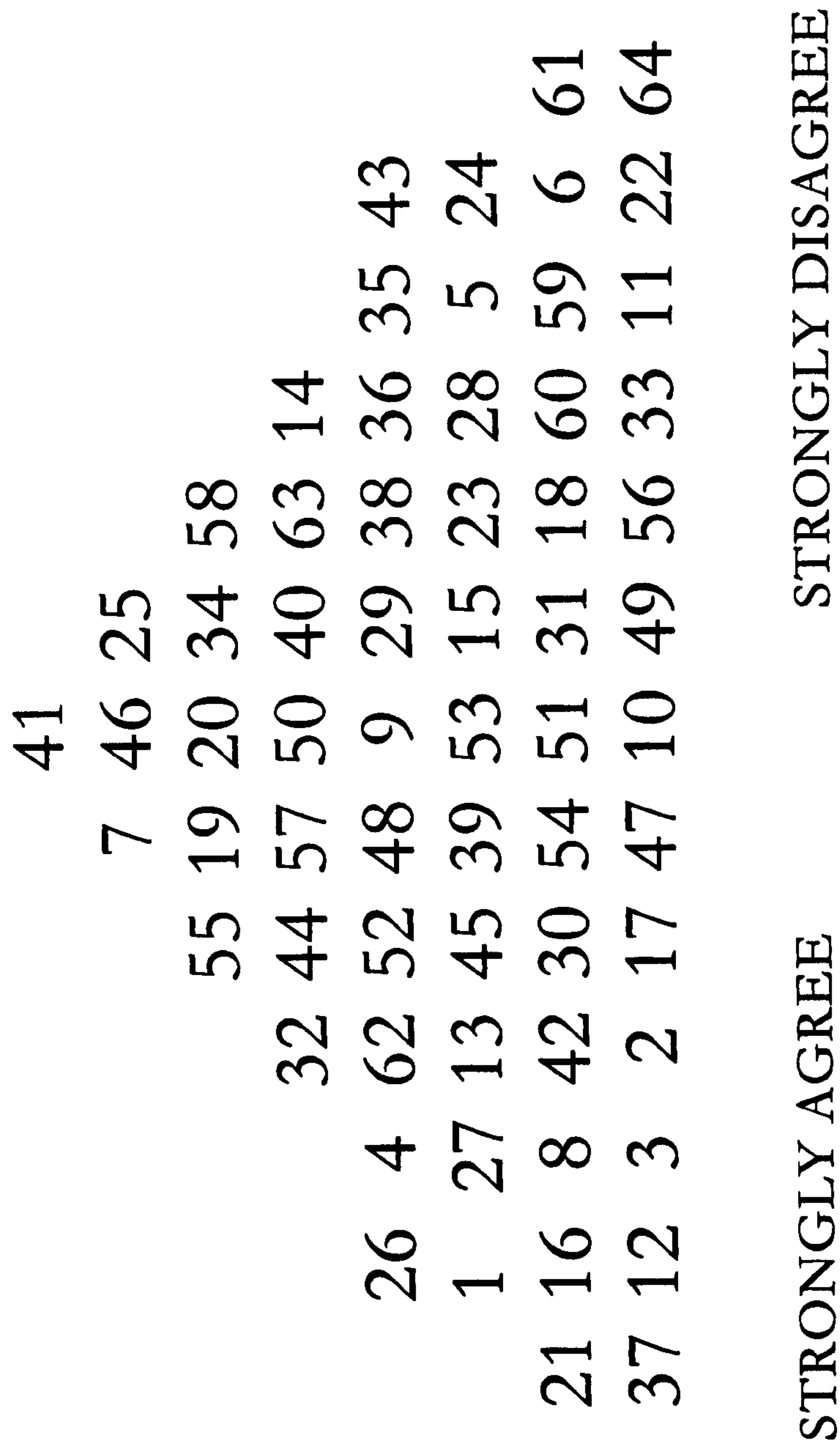


Figure 4.14: Normalised Factor Scores for Factor 2A



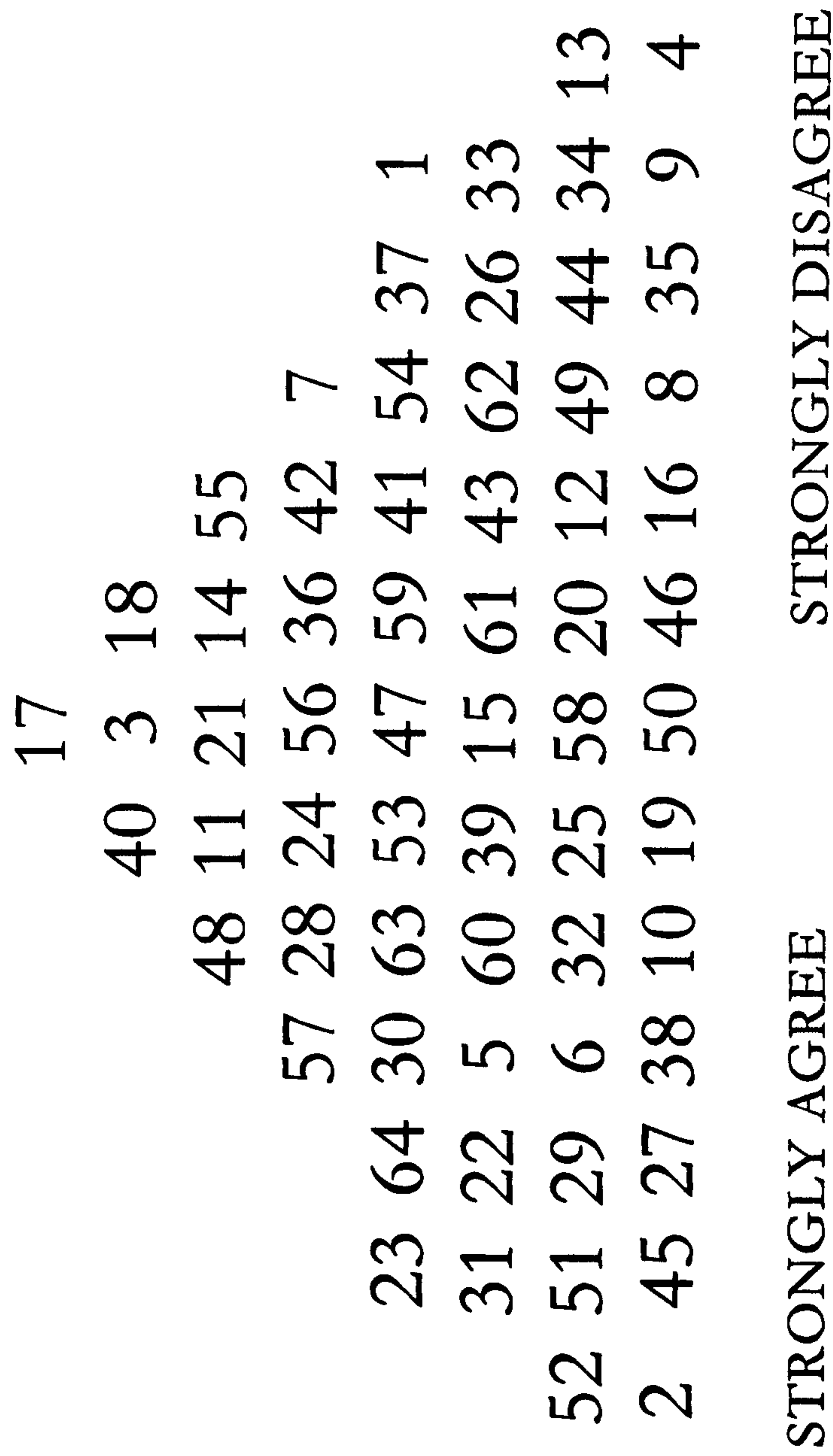


Figure 4.13: Normalised Factor Scores for Factor 1



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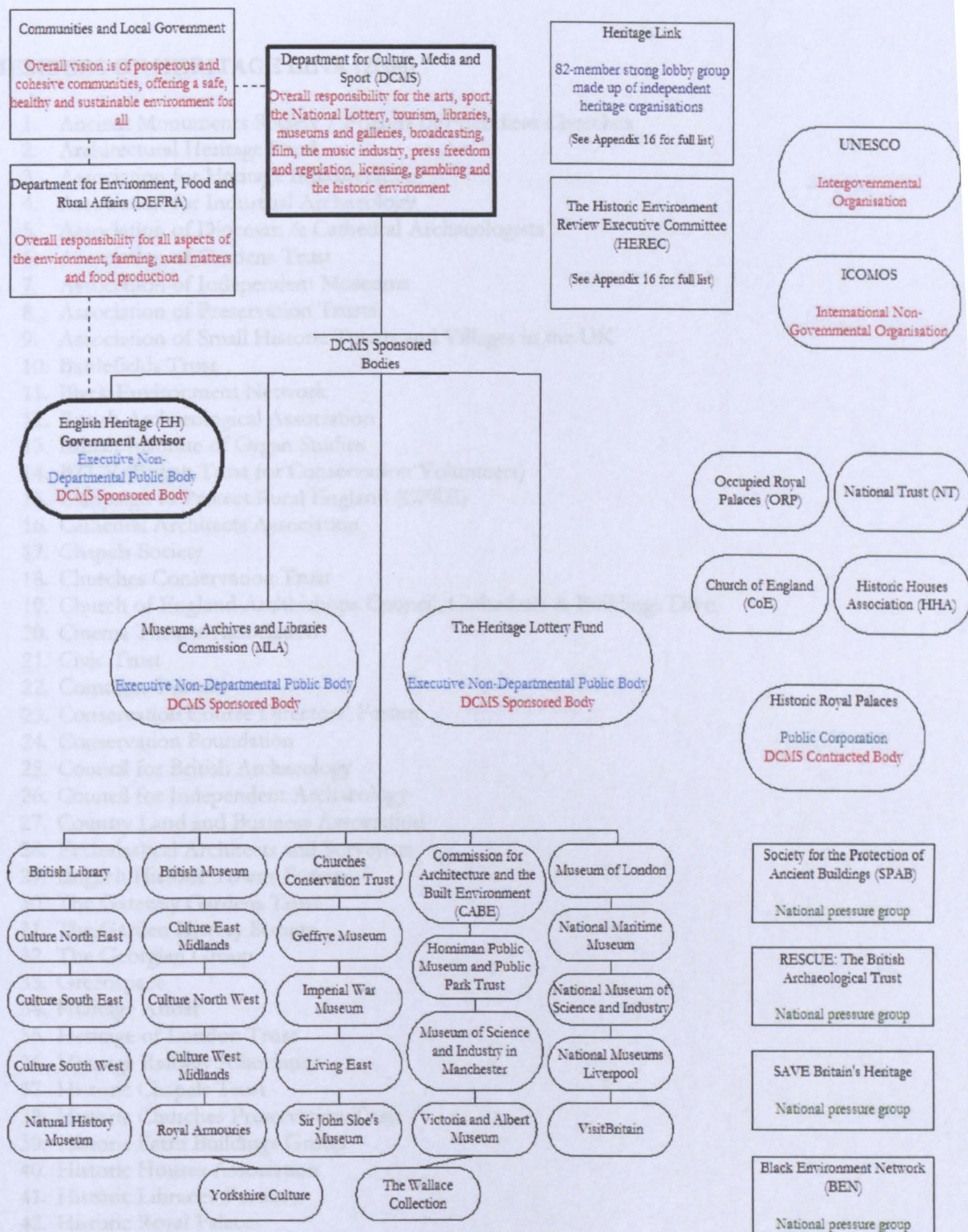
# APPENDIX 14

## THE HERITAGE SECTOR

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Figure 5.1: An Overview of the Heritage Sector  
Members of The Heritage Link (2006)  
Members of HEREC (2006)  
Table 5.1: The Planning Policy Guidance Notes





**Figure 5.1: An Overview of the Heritage Sector**



## **MEMBERS OF HERITAGE LINK (2006)**

1. Ancient Monuments Society / Friends of Friendless Churches
2. Architectural Heritage Fund
3. Association for Heritage Interpretation
4. Association for Industrial Archaeology
5. Association of Diocesan & Cathedral Archaeologists
6. Association of Gardens Trust
7. Association of Independent Museums
8. Association of Preservation Trusts
9. Association of Small Historic Towns and Villages in the UK
10. Battlefields Trust
11. Black Environment Network
12. British Archaeological Association
13. British Institute of Organ Studies
14. BTCV (British Trust for Conservation Volunteers)
15. Campaign to Protect Rural England (CPRE)
16. Cathedral Architects Association
17. Chapels Society
18. Churches Conservation Trust
19. Church of England Archbishops Council, Cathedrals & Buildings Divn
20. Cinema Theatre Association
21. Civic Trust
22. Common Ground
23. Conservation Course Directors' Forum
24. Conservation Foundation
25. Council for British Archaeology
26. Council for Independent Archaeology
27. Country Land and Business Association
28. Ecclesiastical Architects and Surveyors
29. English Historic Towns Forum
30. The Gateway Gardens Trust
31. The Garden History Society
32. The Georgian Group
33. Greenspace
34. Heritage Afloat
35. Heritage of London Trust
36. Heritage Railway Association
37. Historic Chapels Trust
38. Historic Churches Preservation Trust
39. Historic Farm Buildings Group
40. Historic Houses Association
41. Historic Libraries Forum
42. Historic Royal Palaces
43. Inland Waterways Association
44. Institute of Conservation
45. Institute of Field Archaeologists
46. Institute of Historic Buildings Conservation



47. ICOMOS UK
48. Jewish Heritage UK
49. The Landmark Trust
50. The Leche Trust
51. Maintain our Heritage
52. Museums Association
53. National Association of Decorative and Fine Art Societies
54. National Trust
55. Norfolk Archaeological Trust
56. North of England Civic Trust
57. Open Spaces Society
58. Oxford Preservation Trust
59. The Pilgrim Trust
60. The Prince's Regeneration Trust
61. Queen Elizabeth Scholarship Trust
62. Ramblers Association
63. RESCUE: The British Archaeological Trust
64. SAVE Britain's Heritage
65. The Scole Committee
66. Society for Medieval Archaeology
67. Society of Antiquaries
68. SPAB: Society for the Protection of Ancient Buildings
69. Standing Conference of London Archaeology
70. The Theatres Trust
71. The Transport Trust
72. Twentieth Century Society
73. Victorian Society
74. The Vivat Trust
75. War Memorials Trust
76. Waterways Trust
77. Wessex Archaeology
78. The Woodland Trust
79. World Monuments Fund in Britain
80. Youth Hostels Association
81. The Institute of Historical Research



**THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT REVIEW EXECUTIVE COMMITTEE  
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Chris Batt, Chief Executive, Museums, Libraries and Archives Council

Tony Burton, Director of Policy and Strategy, National Trust



## APPENDIX 13

Planning Policy Guidance Note	Title	Date of Implementation
PPG 1	Green policy and Principles	February 1997
<b>PPG 2</b>	<b>Green Belts</b>	<b>January 1995</b>
PPG 3	Housing	March 2000
<b>PPG 4</b>	<b>Industrial, Commercial Development and Small firms</b>	<b>November 1992</b>
<b>PPG 5</b>	<b>Simplified Planning Zones</b>	<b>November 1992</b>
PPG 6	Town Centres and Retail Development	June 1996
PPG 7	Countryside: Environmental quality and economic and social development	February 1997
<b>PPG 8</b>	<b>Telecommunications</b>	<b>August 2001</b>
PPG 9	Nature Conservation	October 1994
PPG 10	Planning and Waste Management	February 1997
<b>PPG 11</b>	<b>Regional Planning</b>	<b>October 2000</b>
<b>PPG 12</b>	<b>Development Plans</b>	<b>December 1999</b>
<b>PPG 13</b>	<b>Transport</b>	<b>March 1994</b>
<b>PPG 14</b>	<b>Development on Unstable Land</b>	<b>April 1990</b>
<b>PPG 15</b>	<b>Planning and the Historic Environment</b>	<b>September 1994</b>
<b>PPG 16</b>	<b>Archaeology and Planning</b>	<b>November 1990</b>
PPG 17	Planning for Open Space, Sport and Recreation	September 1991
PPG 18	Enforcing Planning Control	December 1991
PPG 19	Outdoor Advertisement Control	March 1992
<b>PPG 20</b>	<b>Coastal Planning</b>	<b>September 1992</b>
PPG 21	Tourism	November 1992
PPG 22	Renewable Energy	February 1993
<b>PPG 23</b>	<b>Planning and Pollution Control</b>	<b>July 1994</b>
<b>PPG 24</b>	<b>Planning and Noise</b>	<b>September 1994</b>
PPG 25	Development and Flood Risk	July 2001

Table 5.1: The Planning Policy Guidance Notes. 14 of the 25 listed in this table were current at the time of writing and have been highlighted in **Black and Bold**. The remainder have been cancelled, revised or replaced by PPS (Communities and Local Government 2006).



## APPENDIX 15

# PPG 15 · PLANNING AND THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

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### PART 1

#### 1. PLANNING AND CONSERVATION

**1.1** It is fundamental to the Government's policies for environmental stewardship that there should be effective protection for all aspects of the historic environment. The physical survivals of our past are to be valued and protected for their own sake, as a central part of our cultural heritage and our sense of national identity. They are an irreplaceable record which contributes, through formal education and in many other ways, to our understanding of both the present and the past. Their presence adds to the quality of our lives, by enhancing the familiar and cherished local scene and sustaining the sense of local distinctiveness which is so important an aspect of the character and appearance of our towns, villages and countryside. The historic environment is also of immense importance for leisure and recreation.

#### The role of the planning system

**1.2** The function of the planning system is to regulate the development and use of land in the public interest. It has to take account of the Government's objective of promoting sustainable economic growth, and make provision for development to meet the economic and social needs of the community. As *PPG1* makes clear, planning is also an important instrument for protecting and enhancing the environment in town and country, and preserving the built and natural heritage. The objective of planning processes should be to reconcile the need for economic growth with the need to protect the natural and historic environment.

**1.3** The Government has committed itself to the concept of sustainable development - of not sacrificing what future generations will value for the sake of short-term and often illusory gains. This approach is set out in *Sustainable Development: The UK Strategy*. It is also a key element of the development plan system, as set out in *PPG 12*. This commitment has particular relevance to the preservation of the historic environment, which by its nature is irreplaceable. Yet the historic environment of England is all-pervasive, and it cannot in practice be preserved unchanged. We must ensure that the means are available to identify what is special in the historic environment; to define, through the development plan system, to define its capacity for change; and, when proposals for new development come forward, to assess their impact on the historic environment and give it full weight, alongside other considerations.

#### Conservation and economic prosperity

**1.4** Though choices sometimes have to be made, conservation and sustainable economic growth are complementary objectives and should not generally be seen as in opposition to one another. Most historic buildings can still be put to good economic use in, for example, commercial or residential occupation. They are a valuable material resource and can contribute to the prosperity of the economy, provided that they are properly maintained: the avoidable loss of fabric through neglect is a waste of economic as well as environmental resources. In return, economic prosperity can secure the continued vitality of conservation areas, and the continued use and maintenance of historic buildings, provided that there is a sufficiently realistic and imaginative approach to their alteration and change of use, to reflect the needs of a rapidly changing world.

**1.5** Conservation can itself play a key part in promoting economic prosperity by ensuring that an area offers attractive living and working conditions which will encourage inward investment - environmental quality is increasingly a key factor in many commercial decisions. The historic environment is of particular importance for tourism and leisure, and Government policy encourages the growth and development of tourism in response to the market so long as this is compatible with proper long-term conservation. Further advice on tourist aspects of conservation is given in *PPG 21* and the English Tourist Board's publication *Maintaining the Balance*.



## Stewardship: the role of local authorities and others

1.6 The Government urges local authorities to maintain and strengthen their commitment to stewardship of the historic environment, and to reflect it in their policies and their allocation of resources. It is important that, as planning authorities, they adopt suitable policies in their development plans, and give practical effect to them through their development control decisions. As highway authorities too, their policies and activities should reflect the need to protect the historic environment and to promote sustainable economic growth, for roads can have a particular impact at all levels - not only through strategic decisions on the siting of new roads, but also through the more detailed aspects of road building and road maintenance, such as the quality of street furniture and surfaces. Above all, local authorities should ensure that they can call on sufficient specialist conservation advice, whether individually or jointly, to inform their decision-making and to assist owners and other members of the public.

1.7 However, the responsibility of stewardship is shared by everyone - not only by central and local government, but also by business, voluntary bodies, churches, and by individual citizens as owners, users and visitors of historic buildings. The historic environment cannot be preserved unless there is broad public support and understanding, and it is a key element of Government policy for conservation that there should be adequate processes of consultation and education to facilitate this.

### Source:

DoE (1994) 'Planning Policy Guidance Note 15: Planning and the Historic Environment'.



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## APPENDIX 16

### FIRST DRAFT OF DISCUSSION WORKING PAPER FOR WG1

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#### FIRST DRAFT OF DISCUSSION PAPER FOR WG1

##### GOVERNMENTS REVIEW OF POLICIES RELATING TO THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

###### TITLE

A discussion paper prepared by Working Group 1 on The Historic Environment:  
condition, trends and future contexts.

#### A. INTRODUCTION

#### B. WHAT AND WHY: DEFINING THE HISTORIC ENVIRONMENT

**The historic environment is all the evidence, physical remains as well as intangible ideas, for past human activity that people can see, understand, feel or remember in the present world; it is**

- q **the habitat which *homo sapiens* has created for itself through conflict and co-operation over thousands of years**
- q **the cultural interaction with nature**
- q **created by people physically and imaginatively**
- q **all-pervasive and ubiquitous?**
- q **many-faceted, relying on engagement with physical remains but also with emotional, aesthetic responses or the power of memory, history and association**
- q **in the here and now (UGH!)**
- q **part of everyday experience and life,**
- q **part of culture.**

**This definition is designed to encourage all sections of the community, if necessary through contested views, to stake out their own interests.**

Source:

English Heritage (2000g) *First Draft of Discussion Paper for WG1*. Unpublished document.



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